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SUN-GOD AND HIS ASSOCIATES IN THE ṚGVEDA

By
H. G. RANADE, Poona

Quite a number of Indian as well as Western scholars have strived at the description of the Vedic gods. The Sun-god and his associates have also been described by them. But there is lot of confusion with regard to the concept of 'Solar' in the Ṛgvedic pantheon. Specially, very few have attempted to describe the Solar Divinities as a whole. Thus P. S. Deshmukh[1] and A. Barth[2] have dealt with the class of Solar Divinities. But excepting the Sun-god they differ from each other with regard to the inclusion of other divinities. It is therefore necessary to see which are the essential characteristics of the Sun-god so that we could consider the solarity of other divinities and thus formulate a group of solar divinities in the real sense. The present paper attempts to put forth some novel conclusions by freshly examining the position of the Sun-god and others in the Ṛgvedic hymns after having taken into account what scholars have already said in this regard.

While seeing the views of different scholars it is realized that the description of a particular divinity has been made in view of a particular class to which it belongs. They have thus dealt with the problem of the classification of the vedic divinities also. For our part we shall have to see to this classification in order to find what position the Sun-god has played into it. We will then realize

1 *Origin and Development of Religion*, pp. 218ff.
2 *Religions of India*, p. 20.

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that in some classifications he has been taken as the head of the heavenly gods whereas in accordance with another type of classification he has been completely relegated to background and brought on line with the nature-elements such as water, mountains etc.

Right from the days of *Ṛgveda* itself the Sun-god has been viewed from these two extreme angles. At one place in the *Ṛgveda* (*ṚV* VII.66.15) he is described as the head of gods. But there are also instances where he has been described as one of the numerous aspects of the nature such as water, mountains, trees etc.

In the later period Yāska has referred to the triple classification of Vedic Gods (in *Nighaṇṭu* ch. 5) according to which the Sun-god, Indra and Agni are the heads of the heavenly, aerial and terrestrial region respectively. Yāska refers to *ṚV* I.139.11 in support to this classification. Macdonell[3] also agrees to such a classification. But there is a difference between these two scholars with regard to the solarity of the divinities in the heavenly region. Yāska accepts that the Sun-god is the chief of the Mitra, Varuṇa, Viṣṇu etc. in the heavenly region. But he does not accept that these divinities are essentially solar in characteristics. He has grouped Varuṇa, Yama and Savitṛ under the heavenly as well as the aerial region for this reason. Macdonell on the other hand describes the divinities of the heavenly region to be essentially solar and he has gone even to the extent of saying that they are all originated from the Sun-god.

Hillebrandt[4] is another scholar who holds the Sun-god in very high esteem and for which he has been highly criticized. He tries to identify the Sun-god with Indra. He does not discuss anything about the class of solar divinities as such. He believes that the problem of classification of vedic gods is difficult due to the complex position of the family traditions. He has himself described the vedic divinities on the basis of the simplicity or complicated nature of these divinities.

Bergaigne[5] is also a strong supporter of the Sun-god. According to him the Sun-god is the biggest of the gods giving light to the universe and benevolent in character. He identifies the Sun-god with Savitṛ.

According to Bloomfield the Ṛgvedic gods have no real leader and they can be grouped as storm gods or Sun-gods etc. where by Sun-gods he means the gods of light.[6] It is obvious that such a classification of gods will not help us in the present context.

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3 *Vedic Mythology*, 1897, p. 9.
4 Hillebrandt A., '*Vedische Mythologie*', pt. I, 1927, p. 4.
5 Bergaigne A., '*La Religion Vedique*', 1963 (Tra. Eng. by Paranjape), p. 5-7.
6 Bloomfield M., *The Religion of the Veda*, New York, 1908, p. 88.

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H. Oldenberg[7] also deals with the problem of the classification of gods. He has criticized the classification made on the basis of family relationship saying that the same divinity might then appear as a wife and a mother. For this he has given an example of Uṣas. He has accepted the triple classification as the best. He has not however made any attempt to show resemblance between the Sun-god and the other divinities of the heavenly region. He discusses the characteristics of the Sun-god along with Marut, Vāyu, water, rivers etc. He has specifically observed that the Sun-god holds a very low position as compared to Agni, Indra and Varuṇa.[8]

A. B. Keith[9] also does not give much importance to the Sun-god while describing the gods in two categories as high and low. He has however described the Sun-god along with Savitṛ and Pūṣan. We may therefore understand that they form a class of solar Divinities.

Dandekar[10] has also discussed about the relative position of the Sun-god as compared to God Savitṛ. He concludes that these two cannot be identified with each other and are quite different from each other as the latter has far more abstract and important role to play in the cosmos. The former is just a mass of light and in fact cannot be compared with the latter so far as eminence is concerned.

After having a look into all these controversies we may have to see back to the verses of the *Ṛgveda* itself for obtaining real answer to our problem. It is true that the Sun-god is essentially a god of light and many other divinities are described alike. But all cannot be regarded as Solar Divinities; because they do not possess the function of the Sun-god of rising daily in the east. The hymns of the Sun-god specifically refer to his rising in the east and giving light to the Universe.

ṚV I.50, 115, 164, 191; IV.40 (last verse), 58 (it can also be a hymn of water, cow etc.); V. 40; VII. 60 (first verse), 62 (3 *Ṛcs*); 65 (3 *Ṛcs*); VIII.18, 101; X.39.88, 139, 158, 170, 181, 189 are regarded by the *Sarvānukramaṇī* (edited by Macdonell) as the hymns of the Sun-god and practically in most of these hymns this aspect of the Sun-god is significantly referred to. There is lot of evidence to show that the Sun-god is closely associated to the eastern quarter. In *ṚV* I.50.5 he rises to the east in order to give light to the Gods, men as well as the whole universe.[11] In *ṚV* V.50.6 and 9 he is described to have removed darkness and his aspect of giving light has been referred to in *ṚV* I.164.44 also.

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7 Oldenberg H., *Die Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1917, p. 93.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 245.

9 "The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda", *HOS* 39, 1925, p. 93.

10 Dandekar R. N., *Vaidika Devatāñce Abhinava Darśana*, Poona, 1951.

11 See *ṚV* I. 191.8; VII. 62.1 and 2; VII. 66.4, 14; X. 37.2-3; X. 159.1.

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In *ṚV* VIII. 101.12 he has been regarded as a 'purohita.' The word *puras* is derived from *pūrva* (east) replaced by *pur* to which *as* is added as a secondary suffix. The form *puras* is used as *avyaya* (*gati*) in the formations like *purohita*. It is referred to by Pāṇini also in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (I.4.67). His daily rising is indicated in *ṚV X*.37.8 (*pratipaśyema sūryam* we daily see the Sun-god).[12]

Vedic Scholars have not so far stressed the significance of this aspect of the Sun-god in their descriptions of the Vedic gods. But it is very useful in considering the class of Solar Divinities. Āditya, Aryaman, Viṣṇu etc. of the heavenly region are also gods of light to a certain extent. But it is due only to the Sun-god that the eastern mountain is called *Udayācala* mountain where the Sun rises. This aspect of rising in the east daily is present in Uṣas also, the difference being that the Sun-god is a mass of bright light whereas the latter is a scattered light before the Sun rises. The *Uṣas* is therefore befittingly called the wife of the Sun-god.[13]

In another sense the sun-god sits on the lap of Uṣas[14] when he makes his massive appearance amidst the light of Uṣas. There is thus no doubt that Uṣas is closely connected with the Sun-god and she can also be regarded as a Solar Divinity. One can also note that Uṣas has been rightly called *Sūryā*.

In *ṚV* X.139.1 Savitṛ has been called *Sūryaraśmi* 'having the rays of the Sun-god' and he is said to have arisen in the east. It is obvious that he should also be regarded as a Solar Divinity. But looking to the general character of Savitṛ this does not seem to be correct. The Sun-god is connected with the day whereas Savitṛ with both the day and night.[15] Savitṛ is a stimulating and controlling divinity of the Universe as a whole which is not the case with the Sun-god. The Sun-god is visible; Savitṛ is highly abstract instead. It may be possible that since Savitṛ is associated with light and rising in the east the Sun represents him in part. But to regard them as one and the same will mean underestimating the importance of Savitṛ.

Among other heavenly divinities Pūṣan appears to be solar in character since his paths have been described as Sun-god's rays and since *Nirukta* 7.9 also declares him as a Sun.

Viṣṇu has been described as *svardṛś* (*ṚV* I.155.5a) and *vibhūtadyumna* (*ṚV* I.156.1b) and he is evidently connected with light. His famous three steps are also taken generally to represent the course of the Sun-god in the morning, afternoon and evening. But Viṣṇu has never been said to be rising daily in the east. His third step falls in the best place that is in the heaven. But in the case

12 Cf. *ṚV*. X. 88.6, X. 158.5.
13 *ṚV*. VII. 75.5.
14 *ṚV*. VII. 63.3.
15 *ṚV*. I. 35.2, 4.

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of the Sun-god darkness comes after he goes away in the evening and no-where he is mentioned to have walked these large steps. It is, therefore, difficult to regard Viṣṇu as a solar divinity.

Similar is the position of Aśvins. They are lords of light according to *ṚV* VIII.22.14 and X.93.6. Their chariot is like the Sun (*ṚV* VIII. 8.2). They remove darkness as the Sun-god does (*ṚV* III.39.3). They are lords of Sūryā according to *ṚV* IV.43.6 and I.119.5 and she rides their chariot in *ṚV* I.34.5 etc. But inspite of all these features they are not as perceptible as the Sun-god and their rising in the east does not impress the mind of the Vedic *Ṛṣis* as the Sun-god. Obviously it is not possible to regard them as solar divinities. There is also difference of opinion as to who they are. *Nirukta* regards them as moon and Sun (12.1). Roth takes them to be Indra and Sun and so on.

The above speciality of the Sun-god is missing in Āditya, Mitra etc. of the heavenly region and they are not solar in character.

It can, therefore, be concluded that the Sun-god, Uṣas and to a certain extent Pūṣan form the class of Solar Divinities in the *ṚV*.

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UṢAS : THE MUSE OF THE ṚGVEDIC POETRY

By

VASANT S. PATIL, Kolhapur

The *Ṛgveda* is essentially lyrical. The Ṛgvedic poetry bloomed with Nature-worship. The cult of Nature-worship was dominant at the beginning of the Ṛgvedic composition. The Vedic poet portrayed the Nature-gods with vivid imagination, ardent feeling, and free and forceful expression. They worshipped Beauty through the worship of Nature. Dr. P. S. Sastri vehemently says : "The central theme of the Ṛgvedic songs is the unmasking and exposition of Beauty."[1]

The Uṣas hymns occupy a unique place in the Ṛgvedic composition. They are highly commended for their uncommon sublimity and grace. These lovely lyrics form the high water-mark of the Ṛgvedic poetry. "It is to the credit of the Vedic poet that his is the earliest poetry of the world to have given fit expression to this *beauté Supréme*".[2] It is indeed a great wonder to see that in the earliest period of the Ṛgvedic poetry the lyric should attain such perfection.

Vedic scholars like Geldner, Dr. Bhawe and Dr. Mainkar have tried to discover the image of Muse in the Ṛgvedic hymns. Geldner while interpreting 9.72.2 says that *Sūryasya duhitā* is the genius of poetry and song. Dr. S. S. Bhawe has elaborated Geldner's view.[3] Dr. Mainkar while writing on the Ṛgvedic concept of Muse and theory of Poetry says : "The Ṛgvedic concept of the Muse of Poetry, therefore, appears to have three elements in it, supplied by their concepts of Sūryā, Uṣas and Sarasvatī."[4]

But Sūryā comes under the minor gods in the Vedic pantheon. It cannot be regarded as the genius of Poetry and song. Oldenberg rightly says : "Character of the Sun's daughter as the genius of Poetry and song is quite doubtful to me." She can't be identified with Uṣas as Sāyaṇa thinks. According to Dr. Mainkar, *Sūryasya duhitā* is "some form of Uṣas."[5] She can be described as the 'hypostasis' of Uṣas.

Only three entire hymns (VI.61; VII.95 and 96) are addressed to the river-goddess Sarasvatī. She is not associated with the composition of poetry any-

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1 19th AIOC, 1957—Summary of Papers.

2 Bose, A. C.—*Hymns from the Vedas*, (Introduction p. 29).

3 Bhawe, S. S.—'The Conception of a Muse of Poetry in the Ṛgveda'—*JUB* XIX, 1950 (Part II).

4 *Some Poetical Aspects of the Ṛgvedic Repetitions*—page 28.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 26.

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where in these hymns. Only at 6.61.4, she is described as the protector of hymns (*dhīnāmavitrī*) ; and at 1.3.11,[6] she is regarded as the inspirer of lovely songs and provoker of gracious thoughts. Sarasvatī is the most mother-like, most river-like, most goddess-like.[7] The Sarasvatī hymns reveal Sarasvatī's *naditamatva* only. Her character as inspiring fair songs is not evident in these hymns.

It is only in the Dawn hymns that we see Uṣas as the great inspirer of hymns. The fact that these *Sūktas* were placed in the earliest period of the Ṛgvedic poetry by Max Müller and Keith is very significant. At this blossoming of the Ṛgvedic poetry, the poets were trying to give lovely forms to their songs and thoughts. It is very likely that they were invoking the Goddess of poetry for giving them inspiration. They saw in Uṣas their Goddess of Poetry. The Ṛgvedic poets must have thought of Genius (*Pratibhā*). Uṣas is frequently invoked as the inspirer of fair songs.[8] At 7.76.7 and 1.92.7, she is described as the leader of joyous songs (*netrī sūnṛtānām*). Elsewhere Vasiṣṭha is found praying Uṣas for bestowing on him lovely hymns.[9] At 1.123.13, the poet invokes her to bestow on him gracious thoughts.[10] Gotama Rāhūgaṇa says that Uṣas has aroused the speech (*Vāk*) of all thinkers.[11] Moreover, she is often addressed as *Sūnṛtā*, *Sūnṛtavatī* or *Sūnṛtāvatī* (see *Naighaṇṭuka* 1.8).

At 4.51.5[12] and 7.75.4,[13] Uṣas is described as travelling round the worlds swiftly. Her bright rays have spread in all directions, filling mid-regions.[14] At 3.61.4,[15] Viśvāmitra says that the rich Dawn stretches to the ends of earth and heaven. She moves in a resplendent car (*Candrarathā*). All this majestic description creates before our eyes a lovely and glorious image of Goddess of Poetry (*Pratibhā*). The creative poetic genius is exceedingly brilliant and embraces the whole of the universe for its themes. The miraculous achievement of the poetic genius is beautifully suggested in the Uṣas hymns.

In the colourful description of the Dawn, the plural 'Uṣasaḥ' frequently occurs. It has been variously explained by the scholars. Griswold thinks :

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6 चोदयित्री सूनृतानां चेतन्ती सुमतीनाम् ।

7 अम्बितमे नदीतमे देवितमे सरस्वति ॥ II. 41.16

8 सूनृता ईरयन्ती III. 61.2; VII. 79.5. Also cf. उदीरतां सूनृताः I. 123. 6.

9 व्युच्छन्ती नः सनये धियो धाः । VII. 79.5

10 भद्रं भद्रं क्रतुमस्मासु धेहि ।

11 विश्वस्य वाचमविदन्मनायोः । I. 92.9

12 परिप्रयाथ भुवनानि सद्यः ।

13 पञ्च क्षितीः परि सद्यो जिगाति ।

14 एते त्ये भानवः... आपृणन्तो अन्तरिक्षा व्यस्थुः । VII. 75.3

15 आन्ताद् दिवः पप्रथ आ पृथिव्याः ।

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"The plural 'Uṣasaḥ' refers in some cases to successive dawns,[16] in others probably to the dawn-gleams of the same morning."[17] It is likely that the plural use 'Uṣasaḥ' refers in all the cases to the everchanging dawn-gleams of the same Uṣas. At 4.51.9, Vāmadeva Gautama says that those dawns go forth with countless gleams.[18] These dawn-gleams remind us of the genius (*Pratibhā*) defined by Bhaṭṭatauta in his lost *Kāvyakautuka* as *Prajñā navanavonmeṣaśālinī*,[19] that *Prajñā* which is endowed with ever new manifestations (*unmeṣa*). The adjective *navanavonmeaśālinī* can very well go with the richly coloured dawn, shining with ever fresh colours.

At 1.123.6, the vedic poet says : the far-refulgent Mornings make apparent the lovely treasures which the darkness covered.[20] In the first *maṇḍala* there occurs a very interesting *ṛk* which contains a metaphorical description :

केतुं कृण्वन्नकेतवे पेशो मर्या अपेशसे ।
समुषद्भिरजायथाः । I. 6.3

i.e. This (= the sun) bestowing life where no life was[21] and form, O men : where form was not, was born together *with the Dawns*. It is clear here that the *ṛk* primarily describes the sun (*ādityarūpoyamindraḥ*—Sayāṇa). But it can be connected with the Dawn,[22] who instils consciousness into the beings that were as if unconscious during night and also gives forms to the formless. These lines suggest the miraculous power of the genius which lifts the veil from the hidden beauty of the world and reveals the beautiful treasures to us and gives body and form to things hitherto unknown and infuses life into the things which appear lifeless to us. This is the ability of the genius to create *apūrva-vastu*.[23] Shakespeare expresses the same idea through Theseus[24] in a Mid-summer Night's Dream. (See Foot-note no. 24 on the next page).

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16 I. 123.2, 8, 9, 12; 124.2; 113.8, 15; VII. 76.3; 80.3.

17 IV. 51, 1-3, 10; VI.64. 1-2; VII.75. 3; 78.1, 3; 79.3. See—*The Religion of the Rgveda* page 245.

18 अमीतवर्णा उषसश्चरन्ति। सायण explains अमीतवर्णाः as अहिंसितवर्णा अपरिमितवर्णा वा ।

19 In हेमचन्द्र's काव्यानुशासन, the line is quoted as प्रज्ञा नवनवोल्लेख° (उल्लेख = उन्मीलनम्). Even then the adjective नवनवो° can qualify both उषस् and प्रतिभाः —unfolding ever new forms.

20 स्पार्हा वपूंषि तमसापगूळहा आविष्कृण्वन्त्युषसो विभातीः ।

21 I have followed Sāyaṇa here:
अकेतवे रात्रौ निद्राभिभूतत्वेन प्रज्ञानरहिताय प्राणिने केतुं कृण्वत् प्रातः प्रज्ञानं कुर्वन्...

22 For here is the figure of speech : सहोक्ति.

23 Cf. प्रतिभा अपूर्ववस्तुनिर्माणक्षमा प्रज्ञा (अभिनवगुप्त). कौमुदी's comment on अपूर्व-वस्तुनिर्माण... अपूर्वतया पूर्वस्य वस्तुनः निर्माणे; अथवा अपूर्वस्यैव वस्तुनः निर्माणे...

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Uṣas is often described by the Vedic poets as immortal. She is ancient (*purāṇī*) as well as ever young or ageless. Kutsa Āṅgirasa exclaims 1.113.13 [25] :

> The goddess Dawn has flushed in former ages,
> And here today the bounteous maiden flushes :
> So also may she flush in days hereafter.
> With powers her own she fares, immortal, ageless.
>
> (Macdonell)

Even in the 11th *ṛk* [26] of the same hymn the poet says : the mortals in the former ages had seen her, also the living men look upon her shining. These that will be born in future shall see her. At 4.51.1, it is said that this light appearing ever has arisen out of darkness, making times (*vayunavat*). [27] From these descriptions, Uṣas appears to be the witness of Time : past, present and future. The great poet, with his prophetic vision can see the things of all times. He is (*krāntadarśī*). He can penetrate into the past, remote from him by ages, and also can leap into the dark regions of the unknown future. Rājānaka Mahimabhaṭṭa aptly says in his *Vyaktiviveka* :

> सा हि चक्षुर्भगवतस्तृतीयमिति गीयते ।
> येन साक्षात्करोत्येष भावांस्त्रैकाल्यवर्तिनः ॥ 2.118

Uṣas is frequently invoked as the daughter of heaven (*divo duhitā*). She is *divijā* : born in heaven. Her divine character is reflected everywhere in the Dawn hymns. It is suggested by all the rhetoricians that Genius is divine : this creative power is inborn : it is a divine gift : It is god-given. [28] It is an

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24 The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven;
And as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
Turns them to shapes and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name.

Act V, Scene 1.

Cf. This is the highest miracle of genius, that things which are not should be as though, they were, that the imaginations of one mind should become the personal recollections of another.

—Macaulay, Essays: The Pilgrim's Progress.

25 शश्वत् पुरोषा व्युवास देव्यथो अद्येदं व्यावो मघोनी ।
अथो व्युच्छादुत्तरां अनु द्यूनजरामृता चरति स्वधाभिः ॥

26 ईयुष्टे ये पूर्वतरामपश्यत् व्युच्छन्तीमुषसं मर्त्यासः ।
अस्माभिरू तु प्रतिचक्ष्याभूदो ते यन्ति ये अपरीषु पश्यान् ॥

27 वयुनवत् = making times or ages (Geldner)

28 Cf. तस्याश्च हेतुः क्वचिदेवतामहापुरुषप्रसादादिजन्यमदृष्टम् ।

—जगन्नाथ's रसगङ्गाधर (*Nir.* Ed. p. 9)

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extra-ordinary (*Lokottara*) power that works miraculously. This will also prove that Uṣas is the Goddess of Poetry : the *Pratibhā*.

The etymologieal study of both the words : Uṣas and ***Pratibhā*** goes to support the same idea. The word 'Uṣas' is derived from $\sqrt{vas}$ *or* $\sqrt{uṣ}$ = to shine ; '*Pratibha*' has its derivation from *prati* + $\sqrt{bhā}$ = to shine. Hence it is obvious that both the words convey the same meaning. In fact, they appear to be synonymous.

This discussion brings us to the conclusion that Uṣas is not merely the deity of light but also the Ṛgvedic Goddess of Poetry : the creative poetic genius that is variously discussed in the later works on poetics. The Dawn hymns are not a mere description of the natural phenomenon, but they are in fact also, an invocation to Muse.

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THE MAGICORELIGIOUS ELEMENTS IN THE PRINCIPAL UPANIṢADS

By

GANESH THITE, Poona

It seems that no sufficient attention has been paid to nor has due emphasis been laid by the scholars on the magicoreligious elements in those ancient Indian texts, which at first-sight appear to have no scope for such elements. For their main contents, strictly speaking, do not allow any magicoreligious details in them. But it is a noteworthy feature of ancient Indian texts that there are numerous magicoreligious details in them. Thus ancient Indian philosophical texts as well as the so-called scientific texts often contain magicoreligious details. In the present paper it is intended to study such details in the Upaniṣads.

It is well known that in the Upaniṣads there are many *primitive* (irrational and prescientific) ideas. Although the Upaniṣads—at least those regarded as ancient and principal ones—deal mainly with the philosophical thoughts in their own way, there are often some magicoreligious details to be met with. Many of the later Upaniṣads (e.g. *Soḍhopaniṣad, Sumukhyupaniṣad, Haṁsaṣāḍhopaniṣad* etc.) are more of magicoreligious character than of philosophical one. The present paper is limited to survey the magicoreligious ritual scattered in the Upaniṣads generally considered to be the ancient and principal ones.

A great magical significance has been attached by *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* III.10 to the worship of food as *Brahman.* Thus it is said, " One should worship it (food = *Brahman*) as a firm foundation (*pratiṣṭhā*); one then becomes possessed of a firm foundation. One should worship it as great (*mahat*). One then become great. One should worship it as mind ; one then becomes possessed of mindfulness ; one should worship it as adoration (*namas*) ; objects of desire then make adoration to one. One should worship it as (magicoreligiously) potent formula (*brahman*) ; one then becomes possessed of (magicoreligiously) potent formula. One should worship it as ' the dying around the (magicoreligiously) potent formula (*brahmaṇaḥ parimaraḥ*); around die one's hateful rivals and those unfriendly foes. "

In the Upaniṣads as well as in the other parts of the vedic texts, knowledge is regarded as a power by itself. In the vedic texts there seems to prevail a motto like " to know is to control ". In contrast to the western philosophy, Indian philosophy in general and vedic philosophy in particular is not merely an academic pursuit. It is basically an applied one. Thus the highest knowledge is also considered to be useful in getting some worldly desires fulfilled. In the *Taitt. Up.* there is an exposition of *Brahman*-lore designated as *Bhārgavī*

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Vāruṇī Vidyā. In this context we read how various good results are obtained by one who knows this lore. " This is the highest knowledge of Bhṛgu *Vāruṇī*, established in the highest heaven. He who knows this becomes established. He becomes an eater of food. He becomes great in offspring, cattle, in the splendour of *brahman*-lustre, great in fame (*Taittirīya Up.* III. 6). A very fantastic description of the sensul pleasures which a knower of *Brahman* wins, is described by *Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa-Up.* I.4 : " Unto him there (in the world of *Brahman*) go forth five hundred Apsarases ; One hundred with fruits in their hands, one hundred with garlands in their hands, one hundred with vestments in their hands and one hundred with powdered aromatics in their hands. They adorn him with the adornment of *Brahman*." Further it is said that he ascends the throne of *Brahman* (*Kau. Brā. Up*, I. 4). Earlier, it is said that this knower of *Brahman* will never grow old (*Kau. Brā. Up.* I. 3). Thus the philosophical knowledge is useful for obtaining many sensual pleasures and concrete practical results. In this respect one may compare *Kauśikasūtra* 34.1, where an Atharvavedic hymn dealing with *Mahad* (great) *Brahman* (I. 32) is prescribed in a magicoreligious rite against sterility of women.

Sometimes the Upaniṣads prescribe an elaborate magicoreligious ritual for getting certain desires fulfilled. Thus for one who wants to get something great, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* prescribes some offerings to various deities. Thus it is said that whosoever may wish, 'I would attain something great should perform the following ritual. In the northern course of the sun, on an auspicious day of the half month of the waxing moon, having performed the *Upasad*-ceremony for twelve days, having collected in a dish of the wood of the sacred fig tree, or in a cup all sorts of herbs including fruits, having strewn it around, having prepared melted butter according to rule, having compounded the mixed portion under a male star, he makes an oblation. Then he should offer many other oblations to various deities like Agni, Soma etc. (*Bṛha. Up.* VI. 3.3 ff) Similarly, *Kau. Brā. Up.* II.4 prescribes worship of *Uktha* (viz. *Niṣkaivalya*; here, a part of *Mahāvrata*) for one who wants to be the most beautiful, glorious, and the most brilliant among all the beings. Thus " One should worship it as the *Ṛc* (verse) ; unto such a one indeed all the beings sing praise (*ṛc*) for his supremacy. One should worship it as the *Yajus* (sacrificial formula) ; unto such a one indeed all beings are united (*yujyante*), for his supremacy. One should worship it as 'the *Sāman* (chant); unto such a one indeed all beings bow down (*saṁnamante*) for his supremacy. One should worship it as beauty (*śrī*)... as glory (*yaśas*) ... as brilliancy (*tejas*). As this (i.e. *Uktha*) is the most beautiful, the most glorious, the most brilliant among the *Śastras* (praise-recitations) even so is he who knows this, tke most beautiful, the most glorious, the most brilliant among all beings."

In *Bṛh. Up.* VI.4.14ff. various rites are prescribed in connection with obtainment of progeny. In case a man desires to get white son, able to repeat

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a Veda and with full length of life, he, along with his wife should have rice cooked with milk and should eat it with ghee. In case he wishes to get a tawny son with reddish-brown eyes, able to recite two Vedas and with full length of life, he and his wife should have rice cooked with sour milk and eat it along with ghee. Similarly if he wishes to get a swarthy son with reddish eyes able to recite three Vedas and with full length of life, he and his wife should have rice boiled with water and eat along with ghee. If he wishes to get a learned daughter with full length of life, he and his wife should have rice boiled with sesame and should eat along with ghee. Finally if he wishes to get son learned, famed, a frequenter of council-assemblies, a speaker of discourse desired to be heard, able to repeat all the Vedas, and with full length of life, he and his wife should have rice boiled with meat (veal or beef) and eat it along with ghee. In this performance one gives offerings to Agni, Anumati and Savitṛ and the remnants of these offerings are partaken by the husband and wife. At the time of intercourse the following prayer is to be made. " Let Viṣṇu make the womb prepare ; Let Tvaṣṭṛ shape the various forms ; Prajāpati, let him pour in ; let Dhātṛ place the germ for thee. O Sinīvāli, give the germ, ' O give the germ thou broad-dressed dame ; let the twin gods implace the germ, the Aśvins crowned with lotus-wreaths, with twin attrition sticks of gold, the Aśvins twirl forth with a flame ; ' Tis such a germ we beg for thee, in the month to be brought forth. As earth contains the germ of fire (Agni), as heaven is pregnant with Indra, as of the directions the wind (Vāyu) is germ, even so a germ I place in thee, so and so. "

When the wife is about to bring forth, the husband should sprinkle her saying, " As the wind doth agitate a lotus-pond on every side, so also let thy foetus stir, let it come with its chorion. This fold of Indra's has been made with barricade enclosed around. O Indra, cause him to come forth—the after-birth along with babe : "

When the son is born the father builds up a fire, places him on his lap, mingles ghee and coagulated milk in a metal dish and makes an oblation taking out of the mingled ghee and coagulated milk and saying, " In this son may I be increased, and have a thousand in my houses: may nothing rob his retinue of offspring or of animals : hail : ". The vital powers (*Prāṇa*) which are in me, my mind I offer in you. Hail, What in this rite I overdid, or what I have here scanty made, let Agni, wise, the Prosperer, make it fit and good our sacrifice hail : ". Then he draws down to the child's right ear and says " speech, speech ", three times. Then he mingles coagulated milk, honey and ghee and feeds his son out of a golden spoon with " I place in you *bhūr* : I place in you *bhuvar* : I place in you *svar* : *bhūr bhuvas svar*—everything I place in you. " Then he gives him a name saying, " You are Veda. " So this becomes his secret name.

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Kau. Brā. Up. prescribes some magicoreligious ritual for making one's progeny live long. Thus every month on the night of the new moon, one should worship the new moon as it appears in the west. Or he may cast two blades of green grass toward it saying, "That heart of mine of contour fair, which in heaven rests, I ween myself away of that, may I not weep for children's ill :" The progeny of the performer of this rite does not die (II.5). The Upaniṣad also prescribes a prayer to moon and one to Prajāpati for avoiding the premature death of one's children (II.6). The rite to be performed by a father coming back after he has been away for some period has the same purpose of lengthening the life of his son. Thus a father on coming back should kiss his son's head and utter a magicoreligious formula. "From every limb of mine you have come: right from my heart you are born forth! You are myself indeed my son : So live a hundred autumns long." Here he mentions the name of his son and then says, "Become a stone, become an axe : become unconquerable gold : A brilliance, son, indeed you are; so live a hundred autumns long." Here again he utters his son's name. Then he embraces him saying, "Wherewith *Prajāpati* embraced his creatures, for their security, therewith I embrace you." Here again he mentions his son's name. Then he mutters in his right ear, "Confer on him, O generous, onrushing," and in the left ear, "O Indra, grant most excellent possession and says, "Be not cut off, be not perturbed, live a hundred autumns of life. Son, I kiss your head with your name." He then kisses his head thrice. With the words, "I make a lowing over you with the lowing of cows", he should make a lowing over his head thrice (*Kau. Brā. Up.II.7*).

In order to destroy one's sins one should perform the following rite, "Having performed the investiture with the sacred thread (*yajñopavītam*), having sipped water thrice, having sprinkled the water-vessel, one should worship the rising sun with the words, "Thou art a snatcher, snatch my sin". In the same manner one should worship the sun in the mid-heaven with the word, "Thou art a snatcher up, snatch up my sin." In the same manner one should worship the setting sun with the words, "Thou art a snatcher away, snatch away my sin". Whatever sin he committed by day or night, he snatches away" (*Kau. Brā. Up.2.5*).

In the Upaniṣads sometimes we meet with the magicoreligious rites which are to be performed against one's enemies. Thus one who has not got any son should mutter the formulas beginning with *āpyāyasva* .. (ṚV. I.91.17), *saṁte payāṁsi* (ṚV. I.91.18) and *yamādityā*.... (TS II.3 5.3 etc.), and say, "Cause not thyself to swell forth with our vital breath, progeny and cattle. He who hates us and whom we hate, cause thyself to swell forth with his vital breath, progeny, cattle" (*Kau. Brā. Up.* II.5). After describing how all the activities of an individual are nothing but the manifestations of *Brahman*, *Kau. Brā. Up.* II.8 praises the knowledge of this. "So verily, indeed if upon one who knows

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this both the mountains should roll themselves forth, both the southern and northern, desiring to lay him low him and those whom he himself hates, these all die around him" (*Kau. Brā. Up.* II.8). If one's wife has a paramour and one hates him, one may perform a sorcery against him in the following way : "One should put fire in an unannealed vessel (*āmapātra*) spread out a row of reeds in inverse order and therein sacrifice in inverse order those reed-arrows, their heads smeared with ghee, saying, "You have made libation in my fire: I take away your in breath and out breath—you —so and —so". "Verily he whom a *Brāhmaṇa* who knows this curses, he departs from this world impotent and devoid of merit. Therefore one should not desire dalliance with the spouse of a person learned in sacred lore (*śrotirya-*) who knows this; for indeed he who knows becomes superior" (*Brh. Up.* VI.4.12).

In order to get something of others one should perform the following rite—"In case one should covet a special prize—either on during the night of a full moon or on the night of a new moon or during the bright half of the moon under an auspicious constellation—at one of these points of time, having built up a fire, having swept it around, having purified, having bent the right knee, with a spoon or with a wooden bowl or with a metal cup he offers these oblations of melted butter. 'The divinity named speech is a procurer ; may it procure this thing for me from so-and-so ; to it hail (*svāhā*) ; The divinity named Breath..hail : .. Ear .. hail : Mind ....hail : Intelligence .. hail :' Then having sniffed the smell of the smoke, having rubbed his limbs ever with a smearing of the melted butter, silently he should go forth and declare his object or despatch a messenger. He obtains indeed" (*Kau. Brā Up.* II. 2). In the *Lāṅgūlopaniṣad*, the divine monkey viz. Hanūman is addressed, praised and asked to kill the enemies (*sarvaśatrūn chindhi chindhi, mama vairiṇaḥ khādaya khādaya .. mama sarvaṁ ca rakṣa rakṣa oṁ hrāṁ hrīṁ hrūṁ huṁ phaṭ ghe ghe svāhā*) (*Unpublished Upaniṣads*, Madras 1933, p. 214).

The rite for obtaining the love of others is somewhat similar to the sorcery-rite of *Kau. Brā. Up.* II. 2 described in the above paragraph. "If one desires to become beloved of a man or a woman, at one of these times (viz. either on the night of a full moon or on that of a new moon or on the night during the bright half of the moon under an auspicious constellation) having built up a fire he offers following offering to deities—"Your speech I sacrifice in me, you so and so hail ; .. your Breath .. hail ; Your Eye .. hail ; your Ear .. hail : your Mind .. Hail : your intelligence .. Hail : "Then having sniffed the smell of the smoke, having rubbed his limbs over with a smearing of the melted butter, silently he should go forth and desire to approach and touch or he may simply stand and converse from windward. He becomes beloved indeed, they long for him indeed" (*Kau. Brā. Up.* II. 3).

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There are a few rites to be performed by a teacher in order to get his desires fulfilled. Thus he may pray to Indra for giving intelligence, immortality etc. in the following way—" He who is pre-eminent among the vedic hymns who is the all-formed, who has sprung into being from immortality above the vedic hymns, let this Indra deliver (*spṛ*) me with intelligence. O God, I would become possessor of immortality, may my body be very vigorous, may my tongue be exceeding sweet ; may I hear abundantly with my ears. Thou art a sheath of *Brahman*, with intelligence covered over guard for me what I have heard (it is prosperity) who brings, extends and long makes her own, my garments and cows and food and drink always ; therefore bring me prosperity (*śrī*) in wool along with cattle : hail"..If a teacher wants to get students, he should offer offerings with the following words, " May students of sacred knowledge (*brahmacārin*) come unto me: hail: may students .. come apart unto me.. May students .. come forth unto me ... may students subdue themselves .. may students tranquilize themselves .. As waters run downward, as months into the year, so O Establisher (*Dhātṛ*) may students of sacred knowledge run unto me from all sides : hail." If the teacher desires to be glorious among men, rich etc., then he should give offerings with the words, " May I become glorious among men : hail : become better than the very rich : hail : Into thee thyself, O Gracious Lord (*Bhaga.*) may I enter : hail : Do thou thyself, O Gracious Lord, enter into me : hail : In such a one a thousand fold ramnified, O Gracious Lord, in thee I am cleansed : hail : (*Taitt. Up.* I.4).

In the Upaniṣads there are many other miscellaneous rites also. Thus a person should always read the *cākṣuṣmatividyā* i.e. the eye-lore preached in the *Akṣi-Upaniṣad* and one then will never suffer from any eye-disease; nor there will be anybody blind in his family. In the *Vanadurgopaniṣad* (*Unpublished Upaniṣads* p. 433); the goddess is prayed to remove various diseases. One should offer offerings to the goddess Śivā and then that goddess will show herself to him. Then one will become able to see *Brahman* and become immortal (*Ātharvaṇadvitīyopaniṣad*).

Thus we note that in the Upaniṣadic literature, although it pretends to be of philosophical nature there are numerous magicoreligious rites. It used (or uses) sometimes to be considered that the Upaniṣads are anti-ritualistic in their character, that the spiritualism they contain is a revolution against the excessive ritualism of the Brāhmaṇa-texts or that the Upaniṣads deal with philosophy but are silent on religion proper. But these statements, if testified in details, seem to have too many limitations. Thus although there are a few anti-ritualistic thoughts in the Upaniṣads, the Upaniṣadic literature as a whole is not anti-ritualistic. It often uses the terminology of ritual and contains many thoughts having close similarity with ritualistic speculations also. Moreover the interests of the Brahmaṇa and of the Upaniṣad texts are not contrary to each other; they

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are rather complementory. *There is only a difference of subjects and not a difference of opinion between the Brahmaṇa-texts and Upaniṣad-texts.* The magicoreligious rites described in the Upaniṣads are essentially similar to those described in other ritual texts. Thus it seems that the Upaniṣads are not only not antagonistic to the Brahmanical religion, but they also implicitly and to some extent explicitly endorse the general religious trends of the Brahmanism. Moreover they themselves sometimes preach the magicoreligious ritual similar to that of the Brahmaṇa-texts. Some of the later Upaniṣads are of Tantric nature and preach a lot of magicoreligious ritual. In this way we have to recognize the close connections of Upaniṣads and ritual and consequently of Upaniṣads and religion in India.

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LORD BUDDHA : HIS LIFE AND PHILOSOPHY

By

R. K. RAVAL, Baroda

"Of all the people the earth has begotten, Buddhā stands resplendently at the summit, an absolutely pure spirit. Without fear or sorrow, filled with mercy and good judgment, he extended his hand and, smiling gravely, opened the road to salvation."

—NIKOS KAZANTZAKIS in '*Report to Greco*'.

It was six centuries before the birth of Christ that Siddhārtha, the illustrious prince and founder of Buddhism, was born in the prosperous town of Kapilavastu where his father was the sole ruler of the Nepalese *terāi* (valley). The story is famous regarding the birth of Gautama at Lumbini garden when his mother was on her way to her father's house. Auspicious signs were observed and it was rightly predicted by the astrologers that either the child would be a lord paramount conquering many territories or a prince among the saints conquering his own self. Nursed in the lap of luxury by his step-mother Mahā Prajāpati, his mother having died only seven days after his birth, the child Siddhārtha grew up among all the amenities that a king could command even in those distant days. Solitary by nature right from his adolescent days, his mind turned meditative and he reflected on the most profound problems of life and death. Quite contrary to the habits of princes to indulge in the pleasures and pomp of the palace, Siddhārtha drank the nectar of holiness in the bliss of solitude. His father tried to divert his mind from spiritual to worldly affairs. He was married to a lovely princess, the sweet Yaśodharā, and was provided with all the princely comforts and luxuries that a wealthy father could think of for a son gone astray.

But the young prince was cast in a different mould. Though a Kṣatriya by birth and hence belonging to the warrior clan, the young Siddhārtha's heart was tender and he did not want to be a worldly emperor. He never wished to be the Lord Paramount of India by putting his name on the red record of history. Destruction of life and sacrifice of any living creature were instinctively abhorrent to him. There was a higher glory awaiting him, and he was destined to be the emperor of the rich and the poor, the saints and the sinners, alike.

We know how at the sight of decay, old age and death, his heart was filled with disgust and how at last with great courage and a divine discontent he left his dear wife and son, his pleasures of the palace, and took to the life of a mendicant in search of the Light that had been eluding him so far. Thus began

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the Great Renunciation that was to turn him into the Buddhā—the Enlightened One—very soon.

Wandering for full six years and practising the different ascetic exercises then in vogue for spiritual progress, he studied under many able teachers and yet his heart, dissatisfied with what the others taught, impelled him to go further and to seek something different on his own. He practised self-mortification and reduced his body to a skeleton and actually fainted one day. Here he took some milk pudding from Sujātā, a milkmaid, thus rejecting all the caste prejudices. He was, as his life so illustriously proves, against the caste system, and from the princes like Ajātaśatru and Prasēnajit to a barber like Upāli and a courtesan like Āmrapāli were all his disciples in this first preached democratic order of the holy brotherhood of Buddhism.

The *Khira* (the milk-pudding) served by Sujātā had given his body a new vigour and a freshening energy. He came to realise the futility of self-mortification. He probably realized the truth that :

> " Tha string o' erstretched breaks, and the music flies ;
> Tha string o'erslack is dumb, and music dies ;
> Tune us the sitar neither low nor high. " [1]

He was convinced that the ' Middle Path ' was the best one avoiding the extremes of self-indulgence and self-mortification on either side and thenceforward he decided to take some food. He came to realise that grappling with truth was not an easy matter, and that it could best be realized by a healthy body in a healthy mind. He decided to take some food just sufficient to nourish his body and aghast at this profanity of their master, the whole idea of taking food being something foreign to the prevalent custom of keeping oneself in a starved condition, the few disciples that he had, deserted him and the great Gautama was left alone to tread the path. Commenting on this occasion, the celebrated historian H. G. Wells writes, " He amazed and horrified his five companious by demanding ordinary food and refusing to continue his self-mortification. He had realized that whatever truth a man may reach is reached best by a nourished brain in a healthy body. Such a conception was absolutely foreign to the idea of the land and the age. His disciples deserted him, and went off in a melancholy state to Benaras. The boom of the great bell had ceased. Gautama the wonderful had fallen. For a time Gautama wandered alone, the loneliest figure in history battling for light." [2] Gautama's mental struggle was great as he grappled with the problem of such magnitude as the realization of inner light. All this while his mind was inching slowly but firmly towards the realisation of the final Release, little realizing the gain it had made so far along the arduous road, till suddenly it flashed upon his inward eye that victory was at hand.

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At last, having sat winh a firm determination to realize the light under the future Bodhi tree, this princely mendicant attained the Buddhahood under the shade of the same benevolent tree along the bank of the river Nirañjanā. Struggling valiantly against all the inner temptations, he at last entered the peace that passeth all understanding. Darkness melted before his grim determination to conquer all evil and gain the final goal. He emerged at last out of all this mire of ignorance as the Enlightened One.

The Buddha was now on his mission of mercy. A new band of disciples had gathered around him and for the remaining forty years of his life he dedicated himself to the benefit and happiness of all the sentient creatures. He began his first sermon at the Dear Park in Sāranātha near Banaras and thus set in motion the wheel of righteousness, a unique event in the spiritual history of mankind. Without any hankering after money or fame, he wandered with only a beggar's bowl in his hand and with his select band of holy disciples in the towns and villages of ancient India, with a heart as wide as the ocean and an intellect as sharp as the razor. Tired of metaphysical issues of the time he preferred to keep his own counsel, thinking them as useless and unprofitable for the moral elevation of life. Primarily a teacher streessing the supreme ethical and spiritual values of life, he raised his voice against the prevailing practice of animal sacrifice and against the rituals of all kinds, thus reforming thousands by merely pointing them the way to a sane and noble way of life which still holds its sway over a vast concourse of mankind. His whole spirit rose with a mighty indignation against the sacrifice of life in any form at the alter of any god or goddess either for one's own spiritual advancement or for the appeasement of such a deity. All this was to him nothing more than ignorance, a mere expression of reason gone awry. That is why in the court of King Bimbisāra, where an animal sacrifice was being performed, the Buddha entered and asked the king to sacrifice him, a human being, so that the king could achieve a better heaven ! He saved the dumb lamb from a senseless sacrifice and evoked compassion in the king by an appeal to reason. Such was the message of Buddha, rational in its appeal to the head and campassionate in its appeal to the heart.

There is nothing like dogma or irrational assertion in the teachings of Buddha. Concerned with the four noble truths of suffering, the cause of suffering, the cessation of suffering and the way leading to the cessation of all suffering, he deliberately avoided discussion on problems that could only lead to uncertain conclusions, embittered hearts and baffled minds. Asking his disciples to follow no other master but their own inner light, he advised them to test everything at the alter of their own judgement and then accept it as their own, including his own teachings. This is the secret of Buddha's great appeal even today to some of the most rational and intellectual minds of the Western world as well. This outright appeal to reason and a call for self-dependence in the achievement of the

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highest goal, this great message to man that he can be his own salvator, that he need not look outside for any help, that he can, by his sheer will, be a captain of his soul and a master of his own destiny, have all together held an irresistible attraction for the progressive minds of twentieth century the world over. Rejecting all authoritarianism in seeking truth, the Buddha advised the Kālāmas, the problemen of Kesaputtā, a suburb near the city of Kosala, as follows : " Do not, O Kālāmas, believe in anything because of what the people say or because of its being handed down by tradition; nor out of respect, nor by argument or approval shall ye people accept anything for granted. If ye find anything, when followed out in practice, leading to loss and suffering, then reject it outright.[3] What doctrine could be more rational than this which advises a person to be his own way-farer along this arduous path of truth ? To Buddha self-help was the path of deliverence not only from all suffering, but from all saviours as well. In the course of a lecture delivered in Detroit, U.S A., Swāmī Vivekānanda made the following remarks on Buddha :

> " To many the path becomes easy if they believe in God. But the life of Buddha shows that even one who does not believe in God, has no metaphysics, belongs to no sect, does not go to any church or temple, and is a confessed materialist, even he can attain the highest. "

His was a simple message asking everyone to seek salvation through one's own efforts at moral regeneration and through the transformation of self from being an aggregate of empirical components and egoistic tendencies to being a universal self. To accuse Buddhā of atheism would be erroneous. His silence about the supreme self has been mis-construed by the hostile critics of Buddhism as a sign of Buddha's atheism, but that only reveals either their prejudice against the Buddha or their lack of proper understanding of the master's true teaching. If Buddha was silent, it was because of the existence of as many as eighty different sects at his time, each involved in hair-splitting argumeats about godhead and eternity, about soul and immortality, leaving the common man bewildered at the metaphysical chaos created by the warring factions. What Buddha was concerned with was simply the suffering and its immediate cessation and therefore like an expert physician he lay his finger on the disease and its removal rather than disputing about things which did not contribute an iota towards the betterment or amelioration of the patient. His parable of a man wounded by an arrow and the immediate removal of the arrow to heal the wound is wellknown. Buddha wanted men themselves to be gods, and he believed that they could be so, if they trod the right path. Each man has within him the potential to became a perfect one, only if he were to decide by his own willpower to liberate himself from this prison-house of the ' ego ' that binds him so hopelessly, *but indeed not helplessly*, to this eternally re-current cycle of birth

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and death. The author of the celebrated '*Light of Asia*' has beautifully put this idea into the mouth of Buddha himself, as :

> "Nought from the helpless gods by gifts and hymn,
> Nor bribe with fruits and cakes ;
> *Within yourselves deliverance must be sought :*
> *Each man his prison makes.*"[4]

The Buddha thus lays the responsibility squarely on man himself for his own salvation, teaching every man thus a morality that negates the gods and raises man himself to the position of a god.

Full of *Mettā*, of unbounded compassion for every sentient being, he set forth to give his message of universal love and self-enlightenment without once losing his temper or serenity. There was never an occasion when he burst forth in anger, never a moment when he spoke an angry word. Full of pity, he regarded the world as ignorant rather than wicked. Meeting all opposition with unperturbed calm and firm confidence, he made the opponent silent with an argument that was at once convincing and witty. On being abused by a householder during one of his begging rounds, he imperturbably asked the householder if the food given by him to a beggar in alms were not accepted by the beggar, would it not belong back to the householder himself ? On being replied by the householder that it would naturally belong back to the giver, the Buddha further asked him who would be the recepient of the abuses showered by the householder, if the Buddha refused to accept them. The man was ashamed of his behaviour and the master went forth on his round. Such was his method of persuasion through kindness spiced with irony. He won his adherents not by compulsion but by love and reason. Force as a concept has been something alien to Buddhism till to-day.

Even after attaining Buddhahood he continued his selfless activities till the last breath of his life, when Rev. Subhadra became his last disciple. Even when he knew that his end was being hastened by the indigestible meal served by Çunda, the man who served the master his last meal, Buddha endured the last pains calmly and composedly and had nothing but blessings for Çuṇḍa for having brought him so soon near the very portals of *Nibbāṇa*, the final Release from all sufferings. Ministering thus to an ailing world, Buddha entered the realm of Mahāparinibbāṇa (The Great Release) on the fullmoon night of the month of Besāk. His last words of caution to his followers were :

> " Subject to decay, O brethren, are all compounded things. Work out your own salvation with diligence. "[5]

After the death of the Blessed One many speculative schools came into existence owing to his very silence about the ultimate issues and Buddhism itself got divided into two broad streams of the *Mahāyāna* and the *Hīnayāna*,

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each one of them claiming to know and preserve the teachings of the master better than the other. However, such theories or schools cannot eclipse the original teachings of the master enshrined for ever in his Four Noble Truths.

Brushing aside all metaphysical accounts of the reality as incomplete as the accounts given of an elephant by different blindmen touching its different parts, and regarding them as practically quite useless and intellectually always leading to uncertain and partial conclusions, the Buddha emphasized the ethical and spiritual values of life, founded his philosophy or rather his way of life on the four noble truths mentioned above, and it is these that we shall now be turning our attention to.

(A) *The First Noble Truth about Suffering :*

Death, disease, old age, decay, separation from the dear ones, meeting the undesirable ones and many similar things are there in life which are full of pain and suffering. Buddha came to realize that there cannot be youth without old age, life without death and beauty without decay. In everyman's life there is bound to be some sorrow and there cannot be any sunshine bereft of shadow. This is the basic truth that Buddha propounded and which has led quite a number of occidental thinkers to dub Buddha's philosophy as one of pessimism, but it is not so. Had that been the case, Buddha never would have shown the Noble Eightfold Path that finally leads one from sorrow to its cessation and to a positive plunge into the blissful realm of *Nibbāṇa* where the Self is the lord of the self, where the metaphysical 'I' emerges after the total extinction of the psychological 'me'. That is the stage where a man completely liberates himself from the throes of all suffering and enters the Release that is unconditioned, unborn, un-becoming (*a not become*), unmade and un-compounded and therefore full of tranquillity and without any possibility of change or falling from one state to another. It is indescribable and eternal and therefore beyond all conditional dependence and flux. It is peace that passeth all understanding. Pessimism in Buddhism, and for that matter in most of the schools of Indian Philosophy, is therefore initial and not final. Buddha, it must again be borne in mind, was primarily interested in suffering and its cessation, in knowing the cause of the disease and once having known it after a proper diognosis, to prescribe a cure for it. If life were a series of sufferings, a constant cycle of birth, death and re-birth, then it would be merely an exercise in futility even in trying to reach that which is beyond all flux, all suffering and all causation. Every man by his actions has to make an effort to become something else than what he is. Human effort counts and everyone of us is ultimately free to become what he purposes to be. Suffering is there, it is the inevitable part of life, but it is merely a stepping stone to reach the freedom that is *Nibbāṇa.*

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(B) *The Second Noble Truth regarding the Cause of Suffering* :

The fact of suffering is accepted by almost all the Indian thinkers. But the origin and cause of suffering has been explained by Buddha in the light of his conception of natural causation. To Buddha nothing is unconditional, the existence of everything being dependent on some condition. There must be something, *which being there*, our suffering comes itto existence. There are all kinds of sufferings in the world because primarily there is birth. If there were no birth at all, then these things would not have taken place in life. Birth again has its condition depending on the predispositions or the blind tendency to be born or '*our will to become*' as Mrs. Rhys. Davids would have it. But what prompts one to such a tendency ? Buddha says it is our mental clinging to or grasping of the objects of the world. This is the condition responsible for our wish to be born. The clinging to objects is again due to our thirst (*tṛṣṇā*) or craving to enjoy sensual objects—sights, smells, sounds, etc. But there we may ask as to wherefrom these desires originate. We would not have any greed or desire for an object, had we not tasted or experienced them before. So our previous sense-experience mixed with the pleasurable feelings or *vedanā* is the cause of our thirst or craving. This sense-experience in its turn could not have arisen but for the sense-object-contact or *sparśa*. This contact would not have been possible, had there been no six organs of cognition viz., the five senses and the mind or *citta*. But these again depend on ' Body-Mind ' organism or *Nāma-Rūpa*, it being the perceptible front of man. The human organism could not have developed and come to existence in the mother's womb without some initial consciousness in it. The consciousness which enters into the newly formed embryo in the mother's womb is only an effect of the impressions (*saṁskāras*) of our past life. The last state of past life, which shapes our present existence, contains in a manner the effects and impressions of all our past deeds. Such impressions which make for our re-birth are certainly due to our ignorance about Truth. If the momentary, transitory and painful nature of the worldly existence were wholly realised, there would not arise any action or *karma* resulting in and causing re-birth. Ignorance (*avidyā*), therefore, is the root of all the chain of birth, pain, death and other evil tendencies that cause re-birth and keep a man away from the realisation of Truth.

Thus we have a chain of twelve links — *dvādasa-nidānas* revealing lucidly and logically the wheel of existence causing birth, pain, death and re-birth. Consequently, it also makes clear the notion that the present life is the effect of the past and the cause of the future. This then, in a nutshell, is the *karma*-theory of Buddha : ' As you will sow, so you will reap '. Present depends on past and future on present.

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(C) *The Third Noble Truth about the Cessation of Suffering* :

This truth follows from the second truth that suffering depends on some conditions, and so if these conditions are removed, suffering will also inevitably cease to be. Buddha says that realisation of *Nibbāṇa* is attainable here in this very life, if all evils, errors and wrongs are wiped out in the threefold way of one's speech, thought and action. Every good thought, kind action and gentle speech work as stepping stones to *Nibbāṇa*. *Nibbāṇa* is the supreme state full of the serenity of soul and yet full of action and compassion for the world. I should like to compare this state with that of a spinning top at its full speed, which though motionless in appearance is yet full of motion that is dynamic, unending and tranquil. It alone is eternal. Performance of one's duty with an utter indifference to all praise and blame is the real call of Buddhā. 'Shun all the evil, cultivate only the good and the noble, and purify your mind'—this is the 'quintessence' of Buddhism.

Nibbāṇa on the one hand stops the cycle of re-birth, and on the other, enables one to achieve perfection and bliss in this very life. The liberated state of *Nibbāṇa* cannot be described by words or realized through ordinary experience. It is unfathomable and attainable only by self-help and self-transformation. It is not mere extinction of life or sufferings, but an expansion into the universal self, a total extinction of all the aggregates that go to make up the empirical self or ego. Egoity thus turns into a total effacement, this effacement in its turn resulting into the emergence of a self that is non-egoity, which in its turn is not total extinction, "but transformation of man into the universality of spirit. The moment when a particular individual is universalized, he ceases to be egoistic."[6] This living and fully emerged consciousness of man finds as it were its abode in the heart of the eternal. *Buddhism thus is nothing but a radical programme for an emergent spiritualism.* It is a stage where man having transcended all the flux of changing psychoses reaches the final bliss of an unchanging and unconditioned 'Be' which is beyond all 'Becoming'. The cycle of 'be-coming' completes the circle and one arrives at the dawning of the great 'Be' within oneself. *Nibbāṇa* thus is not a *śūnya*, a mere nothingness as has been wrongly understood by many, but a positive state where one's emerged being gets immersed with the infinite; where the dew-drop finally slips into the shining sea. *Becoming thus means the coming of the great 'Be'.*

(D) *The Fourth Noble Truth about the Path leading to Nibbāṇa*:

This consists of the Noble Eightfold Path which leads to the final bliss of *Nibbāṇa*. It comprises Right Knowledge, Right Thought, Right Action, Right Speech, Right Means of Livelihood, Right Efforts, Right Meditation and Right Memory. These are the norms which form the foundation of Buddhistic ethics enabling even the lowest to reach the highest.

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(i) *Right Knowledge :* This consists of the complete understanding of the Four Noble Truths. It is the correct knowledge about sorrow, its origin, its cessation and the path leading to the cessation. This is the very basis of the righteous path and a constant awareness of this leads a man further on to the steps of the eightfold path.

(ii) *Right Thought :* It is the second most important principle of the eightfold path. Good and noble thoughts lead one to good and noble speech and actions and evil thoughts to evil speech and actions. It is the mind alone, which, according to the Buddhā, is the cause of all evil and good. To him even a man who has conquered a thousand enemies in a battlefield is not so victorious as he who has conquered his self. Only those who are pure of heart and mind can reach the threshold of *Nibbāṇa*.

(iii) *Right Action or Conduct :* Buddha lays down a practical code of conduct for leading a virtuous life. It consists of the following five precepts or *pañca-śīla :*

(a) Abstention from intoxicating drinks, drugs and food lest such intoxicants should lead a man to do anything rash or undesirable;

(b) Desisting from all sensuality and lusty desires;

(c) Non-stealing : nothing is to be taken from anybody or anywhere by fraud, falsehood, force or greed;

(d) Shunning taking of any life or complete non-violence of mind, body and speech;

(e) Forbearing the telling of a lie or using harsh, hypocritical or slanderous and unprofitable words.

(iv) *Right Speech :* That which is truthful, just, gentle, brief and profitable, i.e., conducive to one's as well as other's mental peace and spiritual growth.

(v) *Right Means of Livelihood :* Earning one's livelihood only through honest and righteous means and therefore avoiding the occupations dealing in harmful intoxicants and alcoholic drugs, slavery and the ones involved in the taking of any life in any form like the military profession, butchery, dealing in arms, ammunitions or poisons etc., and finally the one involving or leading one to adultery. One should not as well give encouragement to anybody dealing in or desiring to deal in such occupations.

(vi) *Right Efforts :* These consist in developing the good thoughts which are already there in the mind; bringing in constantly a fresh stock of good thoughts which is absent; removing evil thoughts alreedy existing in the mind and shunning further evil thoughts from entering the mind. This is thus a fourfold exertion comprising two positive and two negative efforts reminding everyone

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to be vigilant in one's moral progress lest any lapse on one's part should bring him down from the heights achieved so far.

(vii) *Right Memory* : This is nothing but right mindfulness or awareness about the transitory nature of all compounded things. One has to be constantly aware of body as body, of mental states as mental states, of sensations as sensations and regard all of these as impermanent and hence worth not attaching any importance. Attachment to such things leads one to the idea of 'mine' and 'thine' and finally to grief or sorrow over their loss. Right vigilance enables a man to remember the perishable nature of all things, thus helping him to be free from attachment and grief. One slowly prepares oneself for the final release by contemplating on the loathsome nature of all matter comprising this perishable world and body.

(viii) *Right Meditation or Concentration :* This is a four-fold process by which a man finally reaches that state of concentration or *samādhi* which is beyond all pain and pleasure, beyond all joy and suffering. It transcends all sensations, all feelings and by constant and arduous practice leads a man to the Final Release which is full of an equilibrium beyond all doubts and dualities. It is a state of mind when the light of *Nibbāṇa* is realised in perfect consciousness, abandoning all sensations and perceptions, a state of perfect wisdom where we have a clear understanding of all the noble truths, the state of *arhatship*. Meditation therefore plays an important role in Buddhism. It is self-change and self-progress, an attainment of perfect wisdom (*prajñā*) and perfect righteousness (*śīla*). Having reached this state of perfect concentration, one sails beyond all consciousness and enters the bliss of *Nibbāṇa* unfettered by any worldly clingings. It is a stage wherein the mind spins in full concentration of the Final Release and yet appears to spin not.

We shall now pass on to 'the philosophical implications of Buddha's ethical teachings'. Here I shall briefly refer to the views of Buddha on which his ethics is based, viz., :—

(i) The theory of dependent origination,
(ii) The theory of *karma* or action,
(iii) The theory of impermanence and change, and
(iv) The theory of the non-existence of any unchanging soul-substance.

(i) *The Theory of Dependent Origination :* This theory implies that everything depends on some condition. Where there is a cause there should be an effect and vice-versa. Thus the existence of every thing is conditional, dependent on some cause. Nothing happens by chance. In this theory Buddha avoids the two extreme views, viz., that of eternalism or the theory that something eternally exists free of any condition on the one hand, as also of nihilism or the theory that something that exists can be annihilated. Buddha holds the

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middle view. He tells us that everything that exists is dependent on something else and it also does not perish without leaving some effect behind. Whosoever has realized this truth has realised the '*dharma*' and vice-versa. This is a very sound theory discarding all unscientific views like those of fatalism, accidentalism or supernaturalism.

(ii) *The Theory of Action or Karma :* The law of *karma* is simply an aspect of the first theory of causation. The present existence of a person depends on his *karmas* or actions of the past existence and would also be responsible for the future one, thus shaping the future according to the *saṁskāras* or impressions of the present life. This theory very well explains the origin of suffering. As you sow, so you will reap; if not in this life, then in the next one.

(iii) *The Doctrine of Impermanence and Change :* This theory too is derived from the first theory of dependent origination. Repeatedly Buddha has asserted that whatever exists, arises from some condition and is, therefore, impermanent. All things that are born are sure to perish. All are subject to decay and death. As everything depends on some condition, it disappears as the condition ceases to be. That which has a beginning has an end. Buddha says, " Know that whatever exists arises from conditional causes and is impermanent. That which looks everlasting shall perish; that which seems beautiful will decay; where meeting is, parting shall be; where birth is, death shall come." This is the third great truth of Buddha. Later Buddhists developed this theory into the doctrine of momentariness, but it would be useless here to discuss the entire development. Change means the constant flux of every thing and even the soul is no exception to this dynamic law. Every thing all the time is under constant change.

(iv) *The Theory of the Non-existence of an Eternal, Unchanging Soul :* As the law of change and impermanence is universal, therefore, the common belief that there is a substance so called soul which is eternal and unchangeable and exists by itself forever within and without the body, then becomes untenable and false. Buddha denies the conception of such an entity in a man. But here anyone may ask, " How does he explain the continuity of a person through different births? " Though Buddha denies the continuity of such an identical substance in man, he does not deny the continuity of the " stream of consciousness " full of successive states of mental phenomena. Life becomes an unbroken series of ever-changing states of consciousness, each of these states depending on the conditions just preceding it, and giving rise to the ones succeeding it. This continuity of life-series is, therefore, based on causal connections running through different states. Take the illustration of the flow of a river. The currents of a river change from moment to moment, every succeeding current carrying with it a portion of the earlier which is not the same. 'We never step into the same

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current twice', Heraclitus declared it long ago in the West. Just as the waters of a river sometimes appear to be blue, sometimes dark, now deep, now shallow, and yet form a continuous stream, similar are the different states of the changing psychoses in the running-stream of consciousness. Again, in the case of a lamp, the flame of each successive moment depends on its own conditions which are different from those of its preceding moment which in its turn had its own conditions, and yet there is an unbroken series of different flames, as there is the unbroken series of different currents. Again, just as another lamp can be lighted before the first one is extinguished, though the two flames of the two lamps are different yet causally connected, similarly, the end of one life may cause the beginning of the next. Rebirth is, therefore, not the transmigration of the soul from one body to another; it is the continuation of the next life by the present one. The theory of an eternal soul is thus replaced by that of a perennial stream of the changing states of consciousness causally connected. Memory becomes explicable even without the accompaniment of a soul. This theory of soul plays a very important part in the teachings of Buddha. He points out repeatedly to his disciples to give up the false idea about the static self and its love. People want to make their souls happy by obtaining salvation. This, the Blessed One wittily remarks, is like falling in love with a damsel of imagination or building a road to reach a place which has never been seen but thought to have an existence because the ancient scriptures or the forefathers have been telling us so.

Man, according to Buddhā, is simply a collection of body, mind and five kinds of changing states (*pañca-skandhas*), viz. :—

(i) Form or *Rūpa* consisting of the various factors which we perceive in the body having form ;

(ii) Feelings or *Vedanā* of pleasure, pain and indifference ;

(iii) Perception or *Sañjña* or cognition ;

(iv) Tendencies inherited from the experience and impressions of the past or *saṁskāras*, to be known otherwise as the fruits of the accumulated *karmans* or conative activities of the past ; and,

(v) The formless consciousness or *vijñāna*.

How remarkably close are these states to the various components of consciousness like cognition, conation and feeling which go to constitute the personality of man in modern psychology ? The *pañca-skandhas* or the aggregates that from the psychological viewpoint form the 'ego' or the personality of man are the ones which are in constant flux and hence do not constitute the real self. This problem of '*anatta*' or not-self poses a very challenging problem for a proper understanding of Buddha's message. Between the eternalists who took for granted an unchanging self as pre-existing in man and the nihilists or

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the annihilationists who completely denied the existence of any self whatsoever, *the Buddha steered a middle course by regarding the self as something which has to be evolved by one's effort and diligence.* He wanted everyone to experience the power of the self rising within oneself, emerging with every right effort, instead of passively accepting its being there for granted. Dr. Radhakrishnan has beautifully brought out the meaning of this process of becoming, of this emergence of 'Be' in Buddha's philosophy as follows: "The proposition that there is no permanent unchanging self in persons or things (*sarvam anātmam*) is not a speculative theory, or a sentimental outburst on the transitoriness of the world, but the basis of all ethics. We have to build our self by effort and discipline. The self is something which evolves and grows, something to be achieved and built up by pain and labour, and not something given to be passively accepted and enjoyed. The ego consists of the feelings that burn us, of the passions that brood over, of the desires that haunt us and of the decisions that we make. These are the things that give life its dramatic character. There is nothing absolute or permanent in them. *That is why we can become something different from what we are. The reality of the person is in the creative will.* When we deny the clamour of emotions, stay the stream of things, silence the appetite of the body, we feel the power of self within our own being."[7] The Self that according to the *Dhammapada* is the lord of the self is thus something which grows with the systematic eradication of the lower self composed of aggregates like conation, cognition, feelings and impressions. The emerged self is not to be identified with sensation, perception, and the pre-dispositions or tendencies of consciousness, since all these are transitory and therefore unreal leading one to cling to the ideas such as 'this is mine', 'this am I' or 'this is my ego'. *One has to grow into the self* and the one who has realized it, prefers the silence of Buddhā lest the laymen and the novices, the inexperienced and the uninitiated, should get baffled on hearing about the nature of the Unutterable. Like the Upaniṣadic *ṛṣis* perhaps the Buddhā also believed that those who know the supreme do not talk about It and those who do not, talk much. For a detailed exposition of this problem that excellent book '*The Creed of Buddha*', written by Edmund Holmes and published by the Bodley Head, London, is recommended.

I began the essay by paying homage to Buddha with a quotation from Kazantzakis, the great European novelist and poet. I can only end my homage to Buddha by quoting the word of another famous Western novelist, Hermann Hesse, which he has put into the mouth of his character Siddhārtha who, addressing his mistress Kamalā, says:

> "Most people, Kamalā, are like a falling leaf that drifts and turns in the air, flutters, and falls to the ground. But a few others are like stars which travel one defined path: no wind reaches them, they have within

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themselves their guide and path. Among all the wise men, of whom I knew many, there was one who was perfect in this respect. I can never forget him. He is Gotama, the Illustrious One, who preaches his gospel. Thousands of young men hear his teachings every day and follow his instructions every hour, but they are all falling leaves, they have not the wisdom and guide within themselves."[8]

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TEXT-CRITICAL NOTES ON THE VAITĀNA ŚRAUTASŪTRA XI-XXIV

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The *Vaitāna Śrautasūtra* (= *Vait.*) text is the only *Śrauta* text belonging to the *AV Saṁhitā*. It is a well-known fact that the *Ātharvaṇic Brāhmaṇa*, *Śrauta* and *Gṛhya* texts have been handed down to us in a rather corrupt form. It has been my endeavour in this paper to study the *Vait.* text from the 'Text-critical' point of view. The text was first published from London in 1878 by R. GARBE; the same scholar translated this text into German, which appeared in 1878 from Strassburg. W. CALAND published his translation from Amsterdam in 1910 under the title *Das Vaitānasūtra des Atharvaveda*. This translation is mainly based on GARBE's edition, even then he has made slight changes in the division of the text as well as he has suggested some emendations, wherever he thought it necessary. Among Indian scholars S. N. GHOSAL has translated this text into English which appeared as a supplement to the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta in Vols. XXXIV (*Kaṇḍikās* 1-18), XXXV (19-36) and XXXVI (37-43). Now, VISHVA BANDHU (= VB) has made accessible to us the text with the commentary called *Ākṣepānuvidhi*. His text with this commentary is based upon three manuscripts. Of these, only two preserve the entire text as the editor says in his 'Description of basic Manuscripts' (pp. XXV-XXVI). Except those *mantras*, verses or formulas which exclusively belong to the *Paippalāda* school, elsewhere the reference is not given to *AVP*. The present writer thinks it rather necessary to trace these *mantra*s and verses out in *AVP*, too. BLOOMFIELD in his *Vedic Concordance* (*Ved. Conc.*) could not make use of *AVP*, for it was not published at that time, therefore, this *Ved. Conc.* is also supplemented by giving references in the bracket ( ) in the case of those verses or *mantra*s occurring in the text but not in the commentary. These *Kaṇḍikās* (XI-XXIV) deal with the *Agniṣṭoma*, the normal form of the *Soma*-sacrifice, which bears the generic title of *Jyotiṣṭoma*.

XI.2 Cf. *GB* 1.2.24; 1.3.1.

XI.5 GAASTRA's edition of *GB* reads *śvabhra ūrmo vṛkṣaḥ*,

which reading is also supported by all the manuscripts belonging to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, as well as by the parallel text *Vait.* 11.5 (VB's edition), whereas the editions of *GB* by MITRA and TRIVEDI read *śvabra-kūrmo vṛkṣaḥ*. GARBE reads *ūṣo* (*-saḥ*), which word is widely attested in the *Vedāṅga* texts and means "salt ground". CALAND does not render the word *ūrma*. He (*op. cit*, p. 31, f.n. 1 under 5a) remarks that "Die

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Bedeutung dieses Wortes (*ūrma* auch Be und wohl auch Gop. br.) ist unbekannt". S. N. GHOSAL (supplement to *IHQ*, XXXIV, p. 34), without discussing the reading renders it by "a cleft". The reading *kūrmo* can in no case be accepted, for the context does not support it. Keeping in view the context, one would be tempted to emend the reading as *ūrmī*. In that case, I think, the grammatical problem can be overruled, and the expression *ūrmī vṛkṣo* would mean "a wavy tree".

XI.9 *abhy añjanam : AVŚ* 6.124.3; cf. *AVP* 19.40.6 (*Ved. Conc.* 97 a). The reading of *AVP* is very corrupt, hence unintelligible.

XI.10 *punantu mā : AVŚ* 6.19.1; *AVP* 19.7.11 (*Ved. Conc.* 589b); also cf. *Kauś.* 9.2; 41.14; 66.16. See GONDA's remarks on this *sūkta in the Savayajñas* (Amsterdam, 1965), pp. 308-9. In *Kauś.* 9.2 it is prescribed for averting evil (*śānti-*). (For further details, see GONDA, *Vision of the Vedic Poets*, p. 105 f.) In *Kauś.* 41.14 this *sūkta* is used for acquiring good fortune. In *Kauś.* 66.16 this *sūkta* is recited in the *Pavitra Sava* (*Keśava*), and perhaps this *sava* was primarily designed to serve purificatory purposes.

XI.11 *sutrāmāṇam : AVŚ* 7.6(7).3; *AVP* 20.19 (*Ved. Conc.* 1016a). *Pāda* c of *AVP* reads *suvidatrām* for *svaritrām* of *AVŚ* and *RV*, etc.

XI.13 *astaṁyate namaḥ : AVŚ* 17.1.23; *AVP* 18.32.7 (*Ved. Conc.* 135b). VB reads *astaṁ yate* for the correct reading *astaṁyate*, which is dat. sg. form of *astaṁyat-*.

XI.14 GARBE reads *kaśipvetyādi*, whereas VB reads *kaśipvityādi*. CALAND suggests the reading *kaśipvityādi* (*kaśipu* + *ityādi*). GARBE's reading is certainly unacceptable one. Cf. *Kauś.* 24.28: *kaśipvāstīrya*. On this *sūtra*, see V. V. BHIDE, "A Plea for a correct Translation of the Vaitāna Sūtra", *Journal of the University of Poona* (*Humanities Section*), No. 29, p. 85.

XI.16 *udyate namaḥ : AVŚ* 17.1.22; *AVP* 18.32 6 (*Ved. Conc.* 262b).

XI.21-26 These *sūtras*, dealing with the rules of conduct for the *dīkṣita*, coincide almost literally with *GB* 1.3.21 (end).

XII.1 These *mantras* are meant as *prāyaścitta* for transgressions of the rules of *Dīkṣā*. They are stated in full in *GB* 1.3.22, but in *Vait.* they appear in an abbreviated (*galita*) form.

XII.5 *yad asmṛti : AVŚ* 7.106 (111).1; *AVP* 20.7.9 (with many variant readings); cf. *Kauś.* 46.24 (*Ved. Conc.* 751b).

XII.8 GARBE reads *niraṣṭavişam*, whereas VB reads *niraṣṭhavişam*. The latter reading is found in *GB* 1.2.7 (GAASTRA's edition (; *Āp ŚS* 10.13.11. Here *niraṣṭhavişam* (from *nir* + √*ṣṭhiv*) is undoubtedly a better reading; this is a *iṣ*-Aor. form (see J. NARTEN, *Die. Sigmatischen Aoriste im Veda*, Wiesbaden, 1964, p. 261).

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XII.9 GARBE reads . *tan mā āpyāyatāṁ* .., whereas VB reads *ma* for *mā*. The *GB* 1.2.7 also reads *ma* in place of *mā*.

XII.10 *paro'pehi* : *AVŚ* 5.7.7; cf. *Kauś*. 46.9.

XII.11 aśmanvatī : *AVŚ* 12.2.26; *AVP* 17.32.6 (*Ved. Conc.* 125b).

XII. 12 *apaḥ samudrāt* : *AVŚ* 4.27.4 ; *AVP* 4.35.4 (*Ved. Conc.*, 80 a).

XII. 13 *ava jyām* : *AVŚ* 6.42.1; cf. *AVP* 4.21.3; 19.8.10; also cf. 20.49.9c (*Ved. Conc.* 118a).

XII. 14 : In the commentary read : *Kauś*. 35.3 in place of 35. 1.

CALAND. *op. cit.*, p. 35, reads II. 23, correct it as III. 23.

XIII. 2 *pathyā revatīḥ* : *AVŚ* 3.4.7; *AVP* 3.1.7 (*Ved. Conc.* 564a).

Vedaḥ svastiḥ : *AVŚ* 7.28 (29). 1; *AVP* 20.31.4 (*Ved. Conc.* 903b).

AVP (*pāda* a) reads *draviṇas* for *drughaṇas* of *AVŚ*, and (*pāda d*) reads *juṣadhvam* for *juṣantām* of *AVŚ*.

XIII. 4 For the ritualistic discussion on this *sūtra*, see BHIDE, *loc. cit*,. p. 92. *yasyoruṣu* : *AVŚ* 7.26 (27).3; *AVP* 20.6.10 cd; *pāda* c of *AVŚ* is not found in *AVP* (*Ved. Conc.* 777 a).

XIII. 5 *divaṁ ca roha* : *AVŚ* 13.1.34; *AVP* 18.18.4 (*Ved. Conc.* 477 a). On this *sūtra*, see BHIDE, *loc. cit.*, pp. 95-6. The commentary reads : *patnī sā* (?); this is certainly an error for some other right reading, for here the duty of *niṣkramaṇa* is performed by one of the officiating priests, but not by the (*yajamāna-*) *patnī*.

XIII. 6 *iḍāyās padam* : *AVŚ* 3.10.6; *AVP* 1.105.2 (*Ved. Conc.* 196 a).

XIII. 7 *abhi tyam* : *AVŚ* 7.14 (15).1; *AVP* 20.6.8 (*Ved Conc.* 91a). *AVP* reads *tvā* for *tyam* of *AVŚ*.

XIII. 8 *ayaṁ sahasram* : *AVŚ* 7.22 (23).1; *AVP* 20.4.10; *Kauś*. 66.14 (*Ved. Conc.* 104 b). *AVP* (pāda d) reads *sam īraya* for *sam airayan* of *AVŚ*. On the *Kauś*. 66.14, see GONDA's translation and exhaustive notes in his work *The Savayajñas*, p. 98, pp. 301-7.

XIII. 13 *yajñena yajñam* : *AVŚ* 7.5.1; *AVP* 20.2.2; *GB* 2.2.11 (*Ved. Conc.* 735 b).

XIII. 14 *viṣṇor nu kam* : *AVŚ* 7.26 (27).1; *AVP* 20.6.9 (*Ved. Conc.* 894a).

XIII.16 GARBE reads *pañcakṛtvo'vadyaty ājyam*, whereas VB reads .. ' *vadyanty* .. Here sg. form is desirable, cf. the parallel passages like *GB* 2.2.3 ; *Āp ŚS* 11.1.1, etc. See Sōmāditya's gloss ; *tvetivacanād gṛhṇāmīti sarvatrānuṣaṅgaḥ*. Moreover, with the utterance of these formulas the *Adhvaryu* pounds the grease for five times in a *Tānūnaptra* vessel.

XIII.18 These formulas should be compared with those of the *GB* 2.2.3 ; also cf. *Āp ŚS 12.1*.

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XIII.20 GARBE reads *ṛtāvṛtaḥ*, whereas VB reads *ṛtāvṛdhaḥ*. CALAND emends GARBE's reading to-*vṛdhaḥ*. Other texts like the *Mān ŚS* 2.2.1.11 ; *Āp ŚS* 11.1.9 also read — *vṛdhaḥ*. The word *ṛtāvṛt-* is also found in the *Atharva-Pariśiṣṭa* 48.60. In all probability, the reading-*vṛdhaḥ* seems to be more appropriate, and it would mean "one, which increases or strengthens the *Ṛta*. And if one follows the reading *-vṛtaḥ*, then it would mean "One, which covers the *Ṛta*", but not "which is covered by *Ṛta*" as GHOSAL, (supplement to *IHQ* XXXIV, p. 39, f.n. 11) understands.

XIII.23 Read *sutyām* for *mutyām* of GARBE's edition, which is a printing mistake.

XIV.1 *gharmaṁ tapāmy amṛtasya dhārayā* etc. : *AVP* 5.16.2 (*Ved. Conc.* 357a) ; *pratīka* is found in *GB* 2.2.6. *devānām adhipā eti gharmaḥ* : *AVP* 16.150.6 (*Ved. Conc.* 498 a). *AVP* reads *etu* for *eti*, and *viśvataḥ* for *vidyutā* of *Vait. vaiśvānaraḥ samudraṁ paryeti : AVP* 16.150.10 (*Ved. Conc.* 906b). *vidyotate dyotata ā* .... : *AVP* 16.151.5 (*Ved. Conc.* 868b). *Gharmaḥ paścād uta gharmaḥ purastād : AVP* 16.151.6 (*Ved. Conc.* 357a). *ṛtūn ṛtubhiḥ śrapayati brahmaṇaikavīro* .. (upto *tejasā ca*) : *AVP* 16.151.7 (*Ved. Conc.* 291b). *AVP* (RAGHUVIRA's edition) reads *śamayati* for *śrapayati* of *Vait. gharmaḥ sāhasraḥ samidhā samiddhaḥ* (upto *dviṣato vṛṣā*) : *AVP* 16.152.2 (*Ved. Conc.* 357b). The *pāda : asapatnāḥ pradiśo me bhavantu.* besides *AVP* 16.152.5b is also found in *AVŚ* 19.14.1c (*Ved. Conc.* 132b). *Udyan me śukra ādityo vimṛdho hantu sūryaḥ. AVP* 16.152.6ab (*Ved. Conc.* 263a). It may, however, be noted that the division of some of these verses is found differently from those of the *AVP*. *Brahma jajñānaṁ prathamam*: *AVŚ* 4.1.1 etc.; *AVP* 5.2.2 etc.; *GB* 2.2.6 (*Ved. Conc.* 656a). *Iyaṁ pitryā* : *AVŚ* 4.1.2a; *AVP* 5.2.1a (with many variant readings); *GB* 2.2.6 (*Ved. Conc.* 237b).

XIV. 2 *rucir asi : AVŚ* 17.1.21; *AVP* 18.32.5 (*Ved. Conc.* 826b). *Pādas* b-d of *AVP* have a few variant readings.

XIV. 3 GARBE reads *gharmadug dhohāyottiṣṭhataḥ*, whereas VB reads *gharmadhug dohāyottiṣṭhataḥ*. The proper reading would be *gharmadug* (or-*dhug*) *dohāyottiṣṭhataḥ*. VB should have read the verse as *uttiṣṭhatāva paśyata* instead of *uttiṣṭhatāvapaśyata*.

XIV. 4 *upahvaye* : *pratīka* of *AVŚ* 7.73 (77).7; *AVP* 16.68.4; 20.11.1 (*Ved. Conc.* 271a).

XIV. 5 The two verses beginning with *svāhākṛtaḥ* are *AVŚ* 7.73 (77). 3 4; *AVP* 20.12.1; 20.11.8 (*Ved. Conc.* 1056b). GARBE's division of the *sūtras* 5-8 does not seem to be proper, on the other hand, VB has properly divided these *sūtras*. This *sūtra* should be read upto *vaṣaṭkṛte' nuvaṣaṭkṛte.*

XIV. 6 This *sūtra* should begin with *bhakṣo vājinavat* ..and end with.... *viśvadevatyāvataḥ.*

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XIV. 7 This *sūtra* should begin with *satre* and end with.... *gṛhaspatiś ca.*

XIV. 8 This *sūtra* should begin with *ucchiṣṭakhare.* In the commentary read *vāyoḥ pūtaḥ* instead of *vāyoḥ pūtāḥ* (*AVŚ* 6.51.1).

XIV. 9 *sūyavasāt : AVŚ* 7.73.11; 9.10.20; *AVP* 16.69.10; 20.11.4 (*Ved. Conc.* 1025a). VB cites only *RV* 1.164.40.

XV.2 The commentary reads *ājyahaviṣṭv* agne *praṇītāpraṇayanaṁ praṇītāvāhāvāt nujñabhyāme* (?). Here one might take a very bold conjecture like this : *ājyahaviṣṭv agne praṇītāpraṇayanaṁ praṇītāhāvād* (?) *anujñāpayāmi.* This might impart some sense to the context. VB reads the *sūtra* as : *āpyāyana-nihnavane,* this reading is not correct. GARBE reads *āpyāyanān nihnuvate,* which is the correct reading. Surprisingly enough, VB, in his f.n. 3, has not properly recorded GARBE's reading, where he reads *āpyāyanān nihuvate.* In the commentary the formula *eṣṭā rāyaḥ* should be italicised.

XV.7 *vi mimīṣva : AVŚ* 13.1.27; *AVP* 18.17.7; *Kauś.* 137.10; *Vait.* 28.23 (*Ved. Conc.* 873a).

XV.8 *yasyāṁ vedīm* : *AVŚ* 12.1.13; *AVP* 17.2.4 (*Ved. Conc.* 776a). *AVP* reads *parigṛhṇantu* for *parigṛhṇanti,* and *vardhayātu* for *vardhayad* of *AVŚ.*

XV.9 *agne prehi : AVŚ* 4.14.5; *AVP* 3.38.3; *Kauś.* 63.9; 137.27 (*Ved. Conc.* 25b). On this *sūkta,* see GONDA, *The Savayajñas,* pp. 217-21.

XV.12 *viṣṇor nu kam* : *AVŚ* 7.26 (27).1; *AVP* 20.6.9; *Vait.* 13.14 (*Ved. Conc.* 894a).

XV.13 *manve vāṁ dyāvāpṛthivī : AVŚ* 4.26.1; *AVP* 4.36.1 (*Ved. Conc.* 687b).

XV.14 The Commentary reads.... *hāvinopalakṣaṇam*(?).
One might think of the reading *havirdhānopalakṣaṇam*(?).

XV.16 *somaṁ rājānam* : *AVŚ* 3.20.4; *AVP* 3.34.6 (*Ved. Conc.* 1032a).

XVI.1 GARBE reads *pūrṇam adhvaryo prabhara,* whereas VB reads *pūrṇaṁ nāri prabhara* (*AVŚ* 3.12.8; cf. *AVŚ* 17.35.7). Apparently GARBE's reading is an *ūha* of *AVŚ* 3.12.8.

XVI.2 The next verse (*AVŚ* 3.12.9; cf. *AVP* 16.41.3) is to be recited while placing the *Vastīvarī* (-waters) on the *Āgnīdhrīya-śāla.*

XVI.6 *yajūṁṣi yajñe* : *AVŚ* 5.26.1 ; *AVP* 9.2.1 ; *GB* 2.2.11 (*Ved, Conc.* 737a). *AVP* (*pāda* d) reads *sayujas* for *mahiṣaḥ* of *AVŚ.*

XVI.7 The commentary reads *stam,* it may be corrected to *tam.*

XVI.8 *yad asmṛti* : *AVŚ* 7.106 (111).1 ; cf. *AVP* 20.7.9 (*Ved. Conc.* 751 b).

XVI.11 *indra juṣasva: AVŚ* 2.5.1; cf. *AVP* 2.7.1; *Vait.* 25.14 (*Ved. Conc.* 209 b). GARBE reads *rājñe'bhiṣūyamāṇe,* whereas VB reads *rājñy abhiṣūyamāṇe.* In this case VB's reading *rājñi* (loc. sg.) seems to be correct one. CALAND also emends the reading to *rājñi. sūryo dyām* : *AVŚ* 13.1.45 ; *AVP* 18.19.5 (*Ved. Conc.* 1028 b).

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XVI.12 GARBE reads *havirdhāne pūrveṇātītya khare copaviśya*, whereas VB reads .. *kharaṁ* .. See CALAND, "Zur Exegese und Kritik der rituellen Sūtras", *ZDMG* 58 (1904), p. 507. According to him some manuscripts read *khare* and some read *kharam*. Here the reading *kharam* may be preferred. *divas pṛthivyāḥ* (the *Madhusūkta*) : *AVŚ* 9.1.1 ; *AVP* 16.32.1 (*Ved. Conc.* 478 b). This *sūtra* is not cited in the *Ved. Conc.* CALAND (IX. 9) may be corrected to (IX.1).

XVI.13 *indrāya somam ṛtvijaḥ : AVŚ* 6.2.1 ; cf. *AVP* 19.1.4 (*Ved. Conc.* 223 b).

XVI.14 *dhṛṣat piba : AVŚ* 7.76 (81).6 ; *AVP* 20.31.7 (*Ved. Conc.* 522 b).

XVI.15 *abhūd devaḥ savitā vandyo* etc. : *RV* 4.54.1 ; *GB* 2.2.12.

XVI.17 *drapasaś caskanda* ; *AVŚ* 18.4.28 ; *AVP* 20.12.7 ; *GB* 2.2.12 (*Ved. Conc.* 512 c).

XVII.2 *doṣo gāya AVŚ* 6.1.1 ; *AVP* 19.1.1 (with variant readings) (*Ved. Conc.* 507 b).

XVII.4 GARBE reads .. *māpagāyā*, whereas VB reads *māpagāyata*. VB's reading is preferable, cf. *GB* 2.2.14 *sendrān māpagāyata*. See CALAND's n. 2 on the translation of this *sūtra*.

XVII.9 *indrasya kukṣiḥ : AVŚ* 7.111 (116).1; cf. *AVP* 20.9.9 (*Ved. Conc.* 214b). GARBE reads *mome*, which is a printing error for *some*.

XVII.10 *śveno'si : AVŚ* 6.48.1; cf. *AVP* 19.44.4; *GB* 1.5.12 (*Ved. Conc.* 937a).

XVIII.3 It is interesting to note that at many places Somāditya refers to the Bhāṣyakāra by *iti bhagavatā bhāṣyakāreṇa* etc., but here he mentions his name : *tathā ca bhagavān vācaspatir bhāṣvakāraḥ paṭhati*. I am unable to emend the commentary at such places *vacanaṁ nyāmyasveti* (?) and *darśapūrṇamāsayola.. saṁmarśanaḥ* (?).

XVIII.4 *punar maitv indriyam* : *AVŚ* 7.67 (69).1; *AVP* 3.13.6 (*Ved. Conc.* 591a). *AVP* reads *dhiṣṇyāso yathāsthāma* for *dhiṣṇyā yathāsthāma* of *AVŚ*.

XVIII.5 Read *bhūyāsam* for *bhuyāsam* of GARBE's edition.

XVIII.7 *divas pṛṣṭhe* : *AVŚ* 13.2.37; *AVP* 18.24.4 (*Ved. Conc.* 478b). *AVP* reads *abhi* for *upa* of *AVŚ*.

XVIII.8 *mā pra gām* : *AVŚ* 13.1.59; *AVP* 17.25.2 (*Ved. Conc.* 708b). *agnayaḥ sargā stha etc.* : *VS* 5.34; *VSK* 5.8.5 (omitting *gopāyata mā*); *pratīka* is found in *Vait.* 18.13.

XVIII.16-17 *abhi tvendra : AVŚ* 6.99.1; *AVP* 19.13.1 (*Ved. Conc.* 91b). *AVP* reads *tvāmhūraṇebhyaḥ* for *tvāṁhūraṇāddhuve* of *AVŚ*. VB reads *stotraṁ yajamānaḥ* with *sūtra* no. 16 (*Kha*), whereas GARBE reads *stotraṁ* with *sūtra* no. 16 and *yajamānaḥ* with *sūtra* no. 17. See Somāditya's gloss : *udgātṛbhiḥ stotraṁ stūyamānaṁ yajamāna upaviśya samīpe niviśya*....CALAND wishes to omit the word *yajamānaḥ*. KEITH, *JRAS* (1910), p. 937, does not think it

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worthwhile to omit *yajamānaḥ*. VB's division of these *sūtra*s seems to be preferable. The only difficulty is that we will have to understand the word *stotra-* in a different sense. The word *stotram* may refer to the place where the *sāman*-chanters sit.

XIX.2 *indravāyū*: *AVŚ* 3.20.6; *AVP* 3.31.7 (*Ved. Conc.* 213 a).

XIX.4 *aśvinā brahmaṇā*: *AVŚ* 5.26.12; *AVP* 9.2.12 (*Ved. Conc.* 129 a).

XIX.9 GARBE reads the word *anavānam* with *sūtra* no. 8, whereas VB reads it with this *sūtra*. In all probability, this word would go with *sūtra* no. 8.

XIX.11 VB reads *śukrāmanthi-*, whereas GARBE reads *śukramanthi-*; here GARBE's reading is preferable.

XIX.12 *ā devānām* : *AVŚ* 19.59. 3; *AVP* 19.47.6. (*Ved. Conc.* 166 b). *AVP* (*pāda* d) reads *pārayāti* for *kalpayāti* of *AVŚ*.

XIX. 15-16 GARBE reads *prāśitram* with *sūtra* no. 15, whereas VB reads it with *sūtra* no. 16. The expression *prāśitravat pratīkṣya pratigṛhya*, should better go with *sūtra* no. 15, GARBE reads *indrapithasya*, whereas VB reads *indrapītasya*. CALAND is perhaps right in approving of the reading *indrapītasya*.

XIX.18. *śaṁ no bhava hṛda ā pīta indo* etc.: *RV* 8.48.4; *GB* 2.3.6.

XIX.19 See GONDA's remarks in his *The Savayajñas*, pp. 408-9, on *Kauś.* 68.9-10.

XX.1 GARBE reads *marutaḥ potrāt* with *Vait.* XIX. 23, whereas VB reads it with this *sūtra*. CALAND is right in suggesting this verse quotation with *Vait.* XX. 1. This verse is *AVŚ* 20.2.1.

XX.4 GARBE reads *pāda* d of this *śloka*: ... *sāvitrāv ete nānuvaṣaṭkṛtāḥ*. However, this reading seems to be far fetched and unclear too. CALAND on the basis of the parallel reading of the Āś ŚS 5.5.21 emends the text to ... *sāvitrau tān sma mānuvaṣaṭkṛtāḥ*. *Vait.* reads *dvidevatyān ṛtuyājān* in place of *ṛtuyājān dvidevatyān* of *Āś ŚS*. VB adopts the reading as is suggested by CALAND.

XX.9 GARBE reads the formula as *mano nvā huyāmahi*, whereas VB reads *mano nvā hvāmahi*; cf. *Kauś.* 89.1 : *mano nvā hvāmahe*.

XX.15 VB accepts the reading *prāgvidhiḥ kṛtaḥ* (?) (in the commentary). The reading *prāgvidhikṛtaḥ* (as is given in the f.n., found in the *Mūlakośa*) seems to be preferable.

XX.16 GARBE reads *hiṅkāram*, whereas VB reads *ahiṅkāram*. Cf. *GB* 2.3.16 (beginning): *atha śaṁsāvom iti stotriyānurūpāyokthamukhāya paridhānīyāyā iti catuś catur āhvayante*. See Somāditya's gloss : *hiṅkāravarjam anurūpādy artham śaṁsāvom ity adhvaryum āhvayate*. The reading *ahiṅkāram* is preferable, for he (the *Adhvaryu*) has to utter the *āhāva* without *hiṁ*-sound.

XX.20 GARBE reads *othāmo daiva*, whereas VB reads *othā modaiva*, the latter reading is preferable.

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CALAND also suggests *othā modaiva.*

XX.21 GARBE reads *om ukthaśā yajokthaśāḥ* whereas CALAND and VB read *om ukthaśā ukthaśā yajokthaśā iti.* GARBE's is certainly an erroneous reading.

XXI.7 *agniḥ prātaḥsavane : AVŚ* 6.47.1; cf. *AVP* 19.43.10. (*Ved. Conc.* 8b). *śveno'si : AVŚ* 6.48.1; cf. *AVP* 19.44.4; *GB* 1.5.12 (*Ved. Conc.* 937a). *yathā somaḥ prātaḥ savane : AVŚ* 9.1.11; *AVP* 16.33.1 (*Ved. Conc.* 748a).

XXI.9 The formula *mayi bhargo* etc. should be campared with *GB* 1.5.15, but not with *GB* 2.5.15 as VB, f.n. 3, does.

XXI.15 *pari tvāgne . AVŚ* 7.71 (74).1; cf. *AVP* 16.8.2; 19.27.3 (*Ved. Conc.* 569b).

XXI.19-20 GARBE reads only *gharmavad bhakṣaḥ*, whereas VB reads *gharmavad bhakṣo rasaprāśnyā* with *sūtra* no. 19. In sūtra no. 19 it is prescribed that the eating (of the remnant of the same) takes place in the same manner as in the case of the *Pravargya.* The word *rasaprāśnyā* should go with *sūtra* no. 20 : *rasaprāśanyā paśupuroḍāśasya*, i.e., " The consuming of the (rest of the) *Puroḍāśa* is accompanied by the recitation of the *Rasa Prāśna* verse (*AVŚ* 5.2.3) ".

XXI.21 GARBE reads *prasthitayājyā*, whereas VB reads *prasthitayājyāḥ.* CALAND is right in suggesting the reading *prasthitayājyāḥ*, for here the three verses (*AVŚ* 20.8.1-3) beginning with *evā pāhi* are to be recited as *Yājyā* verses.

XXI.23 *ud u tyam : AVŚ* 13.2.16 ; *AVP* 18.22.1 (*Ved. Conc.* 260b). *Citraṁ devānām : AVŚ* 13.2.35 ; *AVP* 18.24.2 (*Ved. Conc.* 369a).

XXII.1 *yasyāṁ pūrve bhūtakṛtaḥ : AVŚ* 12.1.39 ; *AVP* 17.4.10 (*Ved. Conc.* 775b). *AVP* includes in this verse also : *sā naḥ paśūn* etc., which is not found in this verse of *AVŚ.*

XXII.2 *ihed asātha : AVŚ* 3.8.4 ; cf. *AVP* 1.18.4 (*Ved. Conc.* 243a). *Pāda*s cd of *AVP* are very corrupt, and hence unintelligible.

XXII.6 GARBE reads *praśāstrādīnām aindram*, whereas VB reads .. *aindrān.* See Somāditya's gloss : *praśāstṛ-brāhmaṇācchaṁsy- acchāvāka- śastra-yājyā-homān aindrān paribhāṣikair anumantrayate.* The right reading is *aindrān*, for all the offerings at the mid-day-pressing are made to Indra.

XXII.14 *eved indram : AVŚ* 20.12.6 (VB cites only *AVŚ* 20.12).

XXII.15 *yad devā devaheḍanam : AVŚ* 6.114.1 ; *AVP* 16.49.1 (*Ved. Conc.* 757ab). These two hymns are *AVŚ* 6.114 ; 115 ; and *AVP* 16.49.1-6.

XXII.16 *āśīrṇa ūrjam : AVŚ* 2.29.3 ; cf. *AVP* 19.17.12 (*Ved. Conc.* 190b).

XXII.23 A *Saṁsthitahoma* is a closing libation, *saṁsthā*, meaning the completion of a rite. The verses *etaṁ bhāgaṁ*: *AVŚ* 6.122.1 ; *etaṁ sadhasthāḥ : AVŚ* 6.123.1 ; are also quoted in *Kauś.* 63.29, which deals with the *saṁsthitahomas.* For ritualistic account, see J. GONDA, *The Savayajñas*, pp. 231-4.

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XXIII.8 *prati tyaṁ cārum adhvaram* : *RV* 1.19.1a ; *AVP* 6.17.1 ; *Kauś.* 127.7a (*Ved. Conc.* 616a).

XXIII.17 Read *dadhikrāvṇaḥ* instead of *dadhikrābṇaḥ* of VB.

XXIII.20 *apsu te* : *AVŚ* 7.83 (88).1; *AVP* 20.32.4 (with variant readings) (*Ved. Conc.* 88b). *tvaṁ no agne* : *AVŚ* 3.20.5; *AVP* 3.34 8 (*Ved. Conc.* 458 b). *AVŚ* (*pāda* c) reads *deva dātave*, whereas *AVP* reads *devatātaye*.

XXIV.1 *yat te grāvā bāhucyuto* etc. : *AVP* 2.39.1; *GB* 2.4.7; cf. *TB* 3.7.13.1 (*Ved. Conc.* 738 b). *yat te grāvṇā cicchiduḥ* etc. : *AVP* .239.2; cf. *TB* 3.7.13.1 (*Ved. Conc.* 738 b). *yāṁ te tvacaṁ bibhidur* etc. : *AVP* 2.39.3; cf. *TB* 3.7.13.1 (*Ved Conc.* 783 a). *AVP* (*pāda* b) reads *yadi vā* for *yad vā* of *Vait. AVP* (*pāda* c) reads *tasmai te soma luptam* for *tvayā soma kḷptam* of *Vait.* VB should have put 11 after *hvayasva* instead of 1. *saṁ prāṇāpānābhyāṁ sam u cakṣuṣa* etc. : *AVP* 2.39.4; cf. *TB* 3.7.13.2 (*Ved. Conc.* 985 a). *AVP* reads *saṁ cakṣuṣā* for *sam u cakṣuṣā* of *Vait. Ahā śarīraṁ payasyā* etc. : *AVP* 2.39.5; cf. *TB* 3.7.13.2 (*Ved. Conc.* 151 a). *Abhikṣaranti juhvo ghṛtenāṅgā* etc. : *AVP* 2.39.6; cf. *TB* 3.7.13.3 (*upakṣaranti juhvo ghṛtena*) (*Ved. Conc.* 90 b).

XXIV.4 *ud vayam* : *AVŚ* 7.53 (55).7; *AVP* 5.6.9; 20.10.3 (*Ved. Conc.* 263 b). *AVP* reads *jyotiṣ paśyanta uttaram* for *rohanto nākam uttamam* of *AVŚ*.

XXIV.5 *aganma svaḥ* : *AVŚ* 16.9.3; *AVP* 18.29.4 (*Ved. Conc.* 4 b).

XXIV.6 *apo divyāḥ* : *AVŚ* 7.89 (94).1; cf. *AVP* 1.33.1 (*āpo adyānv acārīṣam* etc.).

XXIV.9-10 GARBE reads *antaḥ* with *sūtra* no. 9 and *saṁsthā* with *sūtra* no. 10, whereas VB rightly reads both these words with *sūtra* no. 9 : *antaḥsaṁsthā*, i.e. " It (the *Udayanīyeṣṭi*) suddenly is concluded in the middle ". *Sapatnahanam* : *AVŚ* 9.2.1; *AVP* 16.76.1 (*Ved. Conc.* 971 a).

XXIV.11 GARBE reads..*vapāmārjanā tvāṣṭraḥ paśuḥ*, whereas VB in accord with CALAND's suggestion reads *vapāmārjanāt tvāṣṭraḥ paśuḥ*. The latter reading is preferable. See Somāditya's gloss : *vapāmārjanād anantaraṁ tvaṣṭṛ-devatyaḥ paśur bhavati*.

XXIV. 13 GARBE reads *devikāhaviṣā*, whereas VB in accord with CALAND's suggestion accepts the reading *devikāhavīṁṣi*. According to Somāditya, the commentator the reading would be *devikāhaviṣām*, see his gloss : *devikā-haviṣāṁ homān anumantrayate*. In all probability, the reading *devikāhavīṁṣi* seems to be preferable ; cf. *Āp ŚS* 13.24.1 : *devikāhavīṁṣi nirvapati*.

XXIV. 14 *ayaṁ te yoniḥ* : *AVŚ* 3. 20. 1 ; *AVP* 3. 34. 1 ; *GB* 2. 4. 9 (*Ved. Conc.* 106 a).

XXIV. 15 *apamityam apratītam* : *AVŚ* 6. 117. 1 ; cf. *AVP* 16. 49. 10 ; *GB* 2. 4. 8 ; *Kauś.* 67. 19 (*Ved. Conc.* 78 b). See GONDA, *The Savayajñas* pp. 397-401 (on *Kauś.* 67. 19).

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I hope, I have pointed out with sufficient clarity the merits and demerits of these editions of this text. *

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* I am thankful to my teacher Dr. C. G. KASHIKAR for his useful suggestions in writing this paper.

The other two papers of this series have already been published in *ABORI*, Poona, Vol. LI, (1971), pp. 123-134. (*Vait*—I-X); and in *JOI*, Baroda, XIX-4 (June, 1970), pp. 319-330, (*Vait.* XXV-XLIII).

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SOME STUDIES IN VASIṢṬHA-DHARMA-SŪTRA

By

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The *Vasiṣṭha-Dharma-Sūtra* throws interesting light on the position of *Brāhmaṇas*. It is clearly stated that the whole socio-political structure was framed by the *Brāhmaṇa* community and that the three '*varṇas*' shall live according to the teaching of the *Brāhmaṇas*. The *Brāhmaṇa* shall declare their duties and the king shall govern them accordingly[1]. So it seems that the Greeks rightly observed that India was a land of the *Brāhmaṇas*[2].

Vasiṣṭha offers a definition of the term '*Śiṣṭa*'. 'He whose heart is free from desire is called a *Śiṣṭa*.' The great social importance of a '*Śiṣṭa*' is noticed in the observation, that 'the sacred law has been settled by the revealed tests and by the tradition of the sages. On the failure of rules given in these two sources the practice of the *Śiṣṭa* has authority[3]'. So the practices of the '*Śiṣṭas*' will be the guiding principles of the society. The same is noticed in Gautama[4]. According to Baudhāyana a '*śiṣṭa*' is free from envy and pride, contented with a store of grain sufficient for 10 days, from covetousness, arrogance, hypocricy, greed, perplexity and anger: and those are '*śiṣṭas*' who have studied the Vedas and can draw inferences and can adduce proofs from the sacred text (*Baud.* I, 1.1, 56). It is to be noted that Manu in this matter, says the following "The whole Veda is the (first) source of the sacred law, next the tradition and the virtuous conduct of those who know the (Veda further), also customs of holy men, and (finally) self-satisfaction (II, 6)."

The difference between an *Ācārya* and an *Upādhyāya* is clearly pointed out in Vasiṣṭha. He who initiates a pupil and teaches him the whole Veda is called the *Ācārya*. But he who teaches a portion of the Veda only, is called the *Upādhyāya* (III, 21-22).

There is a strong condemnation of illiterate *Brāhmaṇas*. If a fool lives even in one's own house and a *Brāhmaṇa*, deeply learned in the Vedas, lives at a great distance, the learned man should receive the gifts. The sin of neglecting a *Brāhmaṇa* is not incurred in the case of a fool (III, 9). The offerings to the gods and to the manes must always be given to a *śrotriya* alone. For a gift bestowed on a man unacquainted with the Vedas reaches neither the ancestors

1 *Vas. Dh. Su.* I, 39-41.

2 *Classical Accounts of India*, p. 425.

3 *Vas. Dh. Su.*, I, 6.

4 *Gaut. Dh. Su.*, Ch. I, 1-4-; XXVIII, 48.

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nor the gods (III, 8). It is further clearly stated that only learned *Brāhmaṇas* can form an assembly to propound law. Thus it is observed what four or even three *Brāhmaṇas*, who have completely studied the Vedas, proclaim, that must be distinctly recognized as the sacred law, not the decisions of a thousand fools (III, 5). If a hidden treasure is found, the owner of which is not known, the king shall take it, giving one-sixth to the finder. But if a *Brāhmaṇa* who follows the six lawful occupations, finds it, the king shall not take it (III, 13). So here also we find the emphasis on the learning of a *Brāhmaṇa*. It is only a learned *Brāhmaṇa* who will take the hidden treasure. The condemnation of a *Brāhmaṇa* who is a professional physician or is an actor or trader is noticed. Vasiṣṭha says that a twice-born man who lives by trade or lives as an actor or makes his living by the practice of medicine, cannot be called a *Brāhmaṇa* (III, 3). Here we can refer to the strong condemnation of a physician who gives treatment in return of money as noticed in *Caraka-Saṃhitā*.[5] In Manu we find condemnation of actors. The food given by a stage-player should not be accepted, says Manu (IV, 214-215). An actor cannot be a witness in the court of law (*Manu* VIII, 65). An actor should not be invited to a *Śrāddha* (*Manu* III, 155).

In Vasiṣṭha we find it clearly mentioned that the *Brāhmaṇas* were not above law. Vasiṣṭha says that the king should punish the *Brāhmaṇas* of a village, where the *Brāhmaṇas* unobservant of their sacred duties and ignorant of the Vedas subsist by begging; for it feeds the robbers (III, 4). Vasiṣṭha also says that the killing of a learned *Brāhmaṇa* is a great sin (V, 7). So the emphasis is on the learning of a *Brāhmaṇa*.

The great importance of learning is noticed in the observation of Vasiṣṭha that the body is purified by water, the internal organ by truth, the soul by sacred learning and austerities, and the understanding by knowledge. The same observation is noticed in Manu too (V, 109). Vasiṣṭha further says that those *Brāhmaṇas* are equal to *Śūdras*, in whose house there is no sacred fire and in whose family there is no *Śrotriya* (V, 9).

A very rational attitude is noticed on the part of Vasiṣṭha when he lays down the rule that if a *Brāhmaṇa* comes as an assassin, no matter how learned the latter is, one should not hesitate to kill him. ' He may slay an assassin who comes with the intention of slaying, even though he knows the whole Veda together with the Upaniṣads; by that act he does no incur the guilt of slaying a *Brāhmaṇa* (III, 17). Vasiṣṭha further adds, to emphasize on this point, that he who slays an assassin learned in the Vedas and belonging to a noble family, does not incur by that act the guilt of murdering a learned *Brāhmaṇa*. Because in that case ' fury recoils upon fury ' (III, 17-18).

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5 *Caraka Saṃhitā*, Su, Ch. I, 129-130.

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It is noteworthy that though we find *Brāhmaṇa*s as receivers of gifts, in the *Vasiṣṭha-Dharma-Sūtra*, it is also stated that an ideal *Brāhmaṇa* will not accept gifts. It has been observed that those *Brāhmaṇa*s can save one from evil who are free from passion, and who are patient...., who are well versed in the Vedas, who have subdued the sense organs, who have ceased to injure animate beings and who close their hands when gifts are offered to them (VI, 25). Here we find an observation made by Vasiṣṭha which cannot be found in other Dharmaśāstric works. Taking gifts was one of the ways of earning livelihood for a *Brāhmaṇa*. But Vasiṣṭha has made a rule which definitely adds to the greatness and magnanimity of the *Brāhmaṇa*.

Vasiṣṭha describes the deep unfathomable character of a real *Brāhmaṇa*. Thus he says that he is a true *Brāhmaṇa* regarding whom no one knows if he is good or bad, if he is ignorant or deeply learned, if he be of good or bad conduct (VI, 44).

Vasiṣṭha refers to the *Brāhmaṇa*s and *kṣatriya*s who took to the profession of traders, that is, of *Vaiśya*s (II, 24-27). His rules prohibiting these two upper castes not to deal with certain articles, suggest that there were *Brāhmaṇa*s and *kṣatriya*s, who were taking to the profession of the *Vaiśya*s, that is, they had become traders. Similar rules are noticed in Gautama. This kind of change of profession is noticed in Buddhist literature, which has received the notice of modern scholars (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 29).

Vasiṣṭha-Dharma-Sūtra gives us a clear picture of the dress of *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣatriya* and *Vaiśya* students. Here we find a *Brāhmaṇa* student wearing the skin of black antelope as his upper garment and spotlessly clean white cloth as his lower garment. A *Kṣatriya* student is to wear a skin of a spotted deer as his upper garment and his lower garment will be dyed with madder. A *Vaiśya* student will wear the skin of a cow or the skin of a he-goat as his upper garment and his lower garment will be either dyed with turmeric or it will be made of raw silk (XI, 61-66). Similar rules are noticed in Gautama too. But Gautama further says that hempen or linen cloth, bark of trees or woolen plaids or undyed cotton cloth can be the dress for the students of all castes. He adds further that dyed clothes are also recommended by some other authorities. Here the reference is to Āpastamba, who says that the upper garment of a *Brāhmaṇa* shall be dyed with red colour (I, 1, 2, 41). Gautama says that in that case the dress of a *Brāhmaṇa* should be dyed red with a red dye produced from a tree and those of the student of the other two castes shall be dyed with madder or turmeric (I, 17-21). Regarding the lower garments Āpastamba says that it shall be made of hemp for a *Brāhmaṇa*, of flax for a *Kṣatriya* and of the skin of a clean animal for a *Vaiśya*. Regarding the rules of wearing skins for students, Āpastamba throws some interesting light on the subject. He says

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that besides the usual rule of the skin of common dear or black doe for a *Brāhmaṇa* student, spotted deer for a *Kṣatriya* and of a he-goat for a *Vaiśya*, the skin of a sheep is fit to be worn by all castes. (*Āpastamba Dh. Sū.*, I, 1, 3, 3-8).

As regards the efficacy of the dresses made of skin and cloth, Āpastamba refers to the opinion of a teacher according to whom one who wishes the increase of *Brāhmaṇa* power shall wear skins only and one who wishes the increase of *Kṣatriya* power shall wear cloth only and one who wishes the increase of both shall wear both cloth and skin (I, 1, 3, 9). Āpastamba, however, gives his own opinion and says that skin should be worn only as upper garment (I, 1, 3, 10). So the rules of Vasiṣṭha in this matter tally with the view of Āpastamba, because Vasiṣṭha is quite clear in specifying different kinds of skins as upper garments for the three *varṇas* and cloths, white or dyed, as lower garments. A hygienic rule is noticed in Āpastamba as he says that one should not spread the skin upon the ground which one wears as upper garment, to sit on it or to lie upon it (*ibid.*). It is interesting to note that Vasiṣṭha permits a student to eat as much as he likes. He says that eight mouthfuls are the meal of an ascetic, sixteen that of a hermit but thirty that of a householder and an unlimited quantity that of a student. Vasiṣṭha adds further that an *Agnihotrī*, a draught ox and a student, these three can do their work only if they eat well; without eating much they cannot do it (VI, 20).

Vasiṣṭha shows a very rational attitude towards the rules for hospitality. Regarding the duties of a householder towards guests Vasiṣṭha says that a householder should not turn away a guest who comes in the evening. And the guest must be given food. A *Brāhmaṇa* who comes for shelter must get food otherwise the householder will incur sin. But Vasiṣṭha, at the same time, points out that a *Brāhmaṇa* who stays for one night only is called a guest. "For" says Vasiṣṭha 'the etymological import of the word '*atithi*' (a guest) is 'he who stays for a short while only'.' Vasiṣṭha makes the point further clear by stating that a *Brāhmaṇa* who lives in the same village (with his host) and a visitor on business or pleasure, are not called '*atithis*' (VIII, 10). So the hospitality is to be shown to a guest who is in need of a shelter and has arrived by chance and who is not a visitor on some business nor he is one previously known to the host or one who has paid a friendly call. So in Vasiṣṭha we find that '*atithi*' was a particular type of guest. So the term *atithi* was not applicable to all kinds of visitors or guests.

In Vasiṣṭha we find that the '*Āśrama*' system had different character from what we find in Manu. Because according to Vasiṣṭha, right after the period of *Brahmacarya*, that is after the life of studenthood, one can enter any of the remaining three '*Āśramas*', that is *Gārhasthya*, *Vānaprastha* or *Sanyāsa*. Vasiṣṭha states clearly that a man who has studied one, two or three Vedas without violat-

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ing the rules of studentship, may enter any of these orders whichsoever he pleases. (VII, 2-3). In the *Jātaka* literature we find large number of instances of *Brāhmaṇa* youths taking to the life of a hermit after completing studies.[6] The rule of Vasiṣṭha in this matter as mentioned above shows that such a practice had Dharmaśāstric sanction. It seems that Manu[7] made domestic life a compulsory stage of life for all, as society otherwise suffered as a result of many young and able persons not entering domestic life and thus depriving the society of their services. The great importance of a householder is, however, noticed in Vasiṣṭha. Vasiṣṭha says that a householder alone performs sacrifices and so the class of the householders is the most distinguished among all the four. As all the rivers, both great and small, find a resting place in the ocean even so men of all orders find protection with the householders. And as all creatures exist through the protection afforded by their mothers, similarly all mendicants subsist through the protection afforded by householders (VIII, 14-16). So the life of a householder finds great importance in Vasiṣṭha, though Vasiṣṭha has not made it a compulsory stage of life.

In *Vasiṣṭha-Dharma-Sūtra* the types of marriage are six instead of eight. Those are *Brāhma, Daivā, Ārṣa, Gāndharva, Kṣātra* and *Mānuṣa*. Vasiṣṭha says that *Brāhma* marriage is for the *Brāhmaṇa*, *Daiva* for the *Devas*, *Gāndharva* for the *Gandharvas*, *Kṣātra* for the *Kṣatriyas* and *Mānuṣa* for the men (I, 28-29). So *Prājāpatya* and *Paiśāca* types of marriage, as noticed in Manu, are absent. It is to be noticed in this connection that in *Āpastamba-Dharma-Sūtra*, the types of marriage are only four and those are *Brāhma*, *Ārṣa*, *Daiva* and *Gāndharva*. Even the *Rākṣasa* alias *kṣātra* marriage is absent in this list of Āpastamba (II, 5, 11, 17-20).

The definition of the *Brāhma* marriage as noticed in Vasiṣṭha is also very simple. When a father pouring out libation of water, gives his daughter to a suitor it is called *Brāhma* rite, says Vasiṣṭha (I, 30). So this definition differs on certain points from Manu. According to Manu, the gift of a daughter after decking her with ornaments and honouring her by presents, to a man, learned in the Vedas and of good conduct, whom the father invites himself, is called the *Brāhma* rite (*Manu*, III, 28). So in Vasiṣṭha '*Kanyādāna*' is simply by pouring water and the man is a suitor himself. According to Manu, the bride should be duly adorned with dress and jewellery and the bridegroom is not a suitor but one invited by the father of the bride. The definition of Vasiṣṭha is more in conformity with a religious type of marriage. In Āpastamba however, the definition of *Brāhma* rite tallies better with that of Manu.

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6 *Jātakas*, Nos., 124, 162, 167, 175, 203, 299, 310, 312, 313, 314, 139, 323, 328, 334, 337, 403, 418, 423,.

7 Manu, VI, 89, 90.

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Āpastamba says that at the wedding called *Brāhma*, one will give away one's daughter for performing (with her husband) the rites that must be performed together (by a husband and his wife), after having enquired about the bridge-room's family, character, learning and health, and after having given to the bride, ornaments according to one's abilities. (II, 5, 11, 17). But Vasiṣṭha's definition is better-suited to the ascetic or scholarly life of *Brāhmaṇas*, among whom, according to Vasiṣṭha, *Brāhma* marriage obtained.

It is to be noted that in Vasiṣṭha, *Daiva* marriage according to which the father gives his daughter to an officiating priest, while a sacrifice is being performed, stands second to *Brāhma* marriage in descending order (I, 31). In Āpastamba *Ārṣa* stands second and *Daiva* stands third in order, though in Manu it is the same as in Vasiṣṭha (*Manu*, III, 27-28). The superior position given to *Daiva* above *Ārṣa* type, seems logical. Because it savours more of religious atmosphere where an officiating priest, during the performance of a sacrifice, gets a wife from the performer of the sacrifice. It presents a picture of ascetic life. Such a marriage called *Daiva* has been defined by Vasiṣṭha as marriage of the *devas*. It seems, he means to say, that it is a marriage of divine character because the marriage is performed when one performs a sacrifice for a god of heaven, a divine being.

Vasiṣṭha's definition of *Gāndharva* marriage, throws light on the importance attached to caste system. According to Vasiṣṭha, if a lower takes a loving female of equal caste that is the *Gāndharva* rite (I, 33). This points that the parties should be of equal caste even in *Gāndharva* marriage, is neither noticed in Manu's definition of *Gāndharva* marriage nor in Āpastamba's (*Manu* III, 32 ; *Āpastamba Dh. Su.*, II, 5, 11, 20). Vasistha's rule in this matter helps us to understand why the Greeks said that there was no intercaste marriage in India (*Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 41).

Vasiṣṭha-Dharma-Sūtra throws valuable light on the social and legal status of a '*Kānīna*' son, that is a son born to an unmarried maiden. Vasiṣṭha says that according to authorities, the son whom an unmarried damsel produces through lust in her father's house is the son of his maternal grand-father (XVII, 33). Vasiṣṭha further quotes from his authorities a verse according to which, if an unmarried daughter bears a son begotton by a man of equal caste, the maternal grand-father has a son through him ; this son shall offer the funeral cake and take the wealth of his grand-father (XVII, 23). This rule ensures the legal right of a '*Kānīna*' son for the property of his mother's father and the strong social status of such a son is reflected in the rule that he is the heir of his maternal grand-father even with the right to perform his '*Śrāddha*' ceremony.

It is in Vasiṣṭha alone that we find that a '*kānīna*' son is given such strong rights in society. Manu gives him some right only to the property of the man

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whom his mother marries afterwards (Manu, IX, 172). Since Vasiṣṭha refers to the opinion of his predecessors in this matter, it is clear that social leaders and law-givers protected the interests and looked to the welfare, of a child whom an unmarried girl obtained by folly. Vasiṣṭha had probably such instances before him in his contemporary society and so he paid special attention to such a problem and gave direct support to such children. It is also possible that a man who married the mother of such a child, probably would not and did not like to accept the baby also and so the home of the maternal grand-father could be the best shelter for such a child. This rule of Vasiṣṭha has escaped the notice of eminent authorities on Hindu family law. Dr. P. V. Kane has discussed all the details relating to the ancient Hindu law of inheritance (*History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. III, pp. 641-660). But he has only pointed out that the son of a maiden, that is a '*Kānīna*' son is heir to the man whom his mother marries. The explicit statement of Vasiṣṭha in this matter, giving such a child the full right of becoming the heir to his maternal grand-father, as we have discussed above, has not received any notice from Dr. P. V. Kane. Dr. P. V. Kane, however, has referred to *Vivādaratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara, in which it has been observed that the *Kānīna* and *Saṅoḍha* become the sons of their mother's father, if the latter is sonless, but if he has a son then they become the sons of the husband of their mother and if both have no sons then they become the sons of both (*ibid*, p. 660). But Caṇḍeśvara, a person of 14th century A.D., is not for the first time giving such a right to the son of a maiden. Vasiṣṭha as we have seen, long before the advent of Christ, gave a rational and logical rule to give social status and economic security to a child who is unluckily born to a maiden, because of her being duped and deserted by a treacherous lover.

Vasiṣṭha lays down rules for practising restrain in movement, so that one will develop a dignified personality. So he says that one should not make one's joints or nails crack, or make a vessel ring with his nails, one should not drink water out of joint hands nor strike the water with the foot or hand (VI, 33-36). Gautama gives similar rules in great details. He says that one should not draw a seat towards him with his foot. One should keep his hands, feet, tongue and eyes under due restrain. One should avoid to cut, to break, to scratch, and to crush or to make one's joints crack, without reason (*Gaut.* IX, 49-51).

Vasiṣṭha attaches highest importance to good conduct. He says that the highest duty of a man is to live according to the rules of conduct. He whose soul is defiled by vile conduct, perishes in this world and in the next. Neither austerities nor study of the Vedas, nor the performance of the *Agnihotra* nor lavish liberality can ever save him whose conduct is vile and who has strayed from his path of duty. The Vedas do not purify him who is deficient of good conduct. As the beauty of a wife causes no joy to a blind man, even so all the four Vedas together with the six *Aṅgas* and sacrifices give no happiness to him

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who is deficient in good conduct. The sacred texts do not save from sin the deceitful man who behaves deceitfully (VI, 1-5). It is interesting to note that the Buddha said the same in *Sutta Nipāta*.

In Vasiṣṭha we find efforts to adjust the cult of '*ahiṃsā*' with Vedic sacrifices. Vasiṣṭha says that meat cannot be obtained without injuring living beings and to injure living beings does not procure heavenly bliss. So the slaughter of animals at a sacrifice should not be considered as slaughter in ordinary manner (IV, 7). Similar views have been given by Manu too (*Manu*, V, 48).

Vasiṣṭha points out that practising following virtues are the duties of all castes. These are truthfulness, suppression of anger, liberality, abstention from injuring living beings and the procreation of offsprings (IV, 4). So here we find efforts to create a sober and orderly society consisting of members who are virtuous and disciplined irrespective of their castes.

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THE RĀMĀYAṆA AND THE DAŚARATHA JĀTAKA

By

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There was a time when some people believed that Vālmīki, the author of the original *Rāmāyaṇa* (Books II-VI), drew up his story of Rāma on the basis of the story in the *Daśaratha Jātaka* (No. 461) ; but they came to be regarded by competent scholars as careless and uncritical students of the *Jātaka* literature. An attempt has been recently made to revive that old theory.[1]

It is admitted by the most eminent authorities on the history of *Pāli* literature in general and of the *Jātakas* in particular that the verses (*Gāthās*) in the *Jātakas*, which only are found in the *Khuddaka-nikāya* of the *Sutta-piṭaka* have to be assigned to an early date (say, the second or third century B.C.) while the stories in prose are sometimes as late as the fifth or six h century A.D. Thus M. Winternitz says that " they (i.e. the *Jātakas*) cannot serve as documents for the social conditions at the time of [the] Buddha, but at the most, for the period of the 3rd century B.C., and for the greater part, especially in their prose, only for the fifth or sixth century A.D. "[2] A number of contradictions between the above earlier (*Gāthā*) and later (prose) parts of the *Jātakas* have been demonstrated by Hertel[3] and Charpentier.[4]

As regards the *Daśaratha Jātaka*, Winternitz says, " only the *Gāthās* of the *Jātaka* belong to the *Tripiṭaka*. The prose narrative is the fabrication of the compilers of the commentary (about the fifth century A.D.), and all conclusions drawn from this story, such as those of D.Ch. Sen and others, are faulty."[5] By the conclusions of D.Ch. Sen, he means the well-known views of the late Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen in his work entitled *The Bengali Rāmāyaṇas*, which regarded the *Daśaratha Jātaka* as the source of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*,[6] H. Lüders pointed out how the late author of the prose part of the *Daśaratha Jātaka* even failed to understand the meaning of the *Gāthās* composed by an earlier author.[7]

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1 Cf. S. K. Chatterji's paper read at the International Rāmāyaṇa Seminar held at New Delhi under the auspices of the Sahitya Akademi in December, 1975, and his lecture on the subject delivered at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, in January, 1976. In referring to the *Rāmyaāṇa* in these lines, we have followed the N. S. Press (Bombay) edition.

2 *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, trans., Vol. II, p. 156. The part dealing with the history of Buddhist literature originally appeared in German in 1912.

3 *ZDMG*, Vol. 60 (1906) pp. 399ff.

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. 62 (1908), pp. 725 ff.

5 *Op. cit.*, trans., Vol. I, p. 508, note 3.

6 Calcutta University, 1920, pp. 9 ff.

7 *NKGWG*, Philol.-Histor. Klasse, 1897, pp. 40 ff.

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But, before we take up that question, it is necessary to narrate the *Daśaratha Jātaka* story in brief.

Daśaratha, the king of Vārāṇasī, had from his first Chief Queen two sons named Rāmapaṇḍita and Lakṣmaṇakumāra and a daughter named Sītādevī. Sometime after the death of the first Chief Queen, the king raised one of his sixteen thousand wives to the position of Chief Queen, and she gave birth to Bharatakumāra at a later date. Daśaratha promised a boon to this lady who wanted on its strength, sometime afterwards, the kingdom for her son. The king then became afraid about the safety of his other two sons and advised them to live away from the kingdom for a period of twelve years which was the time he expected to live. As a result, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, accompanied by Sītā, went to live in the Himālaya. On Daśaratha's death in the ninth year after Rāma's departure, Bharata went to Rāma in order to bring him back; but unwilling to return before the end of the period of twelve years, Rāma advised Bharata to place on the throne his slippers, made of grass, and to rule the kingdom in his name. Bharata accepted the advice and returned home with Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā. After the remaining three years, Rāma returned to Vārāṇasī and became king, and Sītā was made his Chief Queen; he ruled the kingdom for sixteen thousand years. The purpose of the story is to show how everybody except Rāma bereaved at Daśaratha's death, and how the unperturbed Rāma consoled the grief-stricken people by pointing out that death of a dear one should not disturb the peace of anybody's mind. It is well-known that this was a popular idea with the Buddhist monks [8] In any case, it can be proved that this *Jātaka* story is later than Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* and is a distorted form of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story.

Historians of Sanskrit literature believe that Books II-VI of the *Rāmāyaṇa* were primarily composed by Vālmīki about the third century B.C. while certain sections including Books I and VII were added to the said part at a later date, though the whole work was complete by the end of the second century A.D.[9] We have some evidence to show that the *Daśaratha-Jātaka* is later than even the interpolated parts of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and that even the Buddhist authors did not know its story not only in the days of the Jātaka *Gāthās* assignable to the second or third century B.C., but also as late as the first or second century A.D.

That the *Daśaratha Jātaka* story is considerably later than the *Gāthās* is shown by the fact that its author failed in some cases to understand the meaning of the verses and introduced in them new and absurd elements. The first of the

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8 Winternitz says, "Here we see that even the *Jātaka-gāthās* were remodelled with a Buddhist tendency. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāma himself laments exceedingly at the news of his father's death.....*Rām.* II. 102-105....." (p. 105, note 4).

9 Winternitz, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 516-17.

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Gāthās in the *Daśaratha Jātaka* is addressed by Rāma to Lakṣmaṇa. In it he advises Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā to descend in water (i.e. to perform the *tarpaṇa* for their deceased father) because Bharata just gave him the news of Daśaratha's death. This meaning indicated by the passage *ubho otarath = odakaṁ* ('both of you descend in water'), which is similar to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (II. 103. 17) passage *kriyatām-udakaṁ pituḥ* ('do your father's water-ceremony'), was misunderstood by the late narrator of the story, who imagined that Rāma compelled Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā, on the false plea of a punishment for returning late to the hermitage, to enter into the waters of a nearby tank with the idea that the great grief would in that case be somewhat tolerable to them when they would be told about their father's death. It is then said that both Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā thrice fainted on hearing the sad news when they were in the waters before they could be brought out to the bank of the tank. The foolish fabricator of the story did not notice that Rāma in his senses could hardly have created the said situation in which Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā had every chance of having lost their lives.

In the second of the *Gāthās*, Bharata expresses his surprise how Rāma did not exhibit any sorrow at Daśaratha's death and, in the following *Gāthās*, Rāma explains how bereavement cannot affect a wise man. A stanza added by the narrator of the story says that Rāma reigned for sixteen thousand years, and the *Pāli* passage—*dasa vassa-sahassāni saṭṭhi vassa-satāni ca* is a palpable modification of the well-known *Rāmāyaṇa* passage—*daśa varṣa-sahasrāṇi daśa varṣa-śatāni ca*, repeated three times (I. 1. 97; VI. 128. 106; VII. 104. 12) and speaking of Rāma's reign period as eleven thousand years. Because the greater the exaggeration the later it is always expected to be, the *Jātaka* must have borrowed the passage from the epic. Another important point to be noted here is that, Rāma being represented as a human being in the original *Rāmāyaṇa* (i.e. Books II-VI), the stanza ascribing the absurdly abnormal reign period to him is a later interpolation so that the *Daśaratha Jātaka* is considerably later not only than the composition of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* but also than the addition of the interpolated sections to it.

It should also be mentioned that the *Buddhacarita* by the celebrated Buddhist author Aśvaghoṣa, whom tradition associates with the *Kuṣāṇa* king Kaṇiṣka I (78-101 A.D. or about the middle of the second century A.D.), exhibits a knowledge of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* including the interpolated parts, but not of the *Daśaratha Jātaka*. It mentions Vaivasvata Manu, Ambarīṣa, Raghu, Aja, Daśaratha, Rāma, Sumitra (i.e., the charioteer Sumantra), Aurvaśeya and Vāmadeva.[10] Daśaratha's counsellor Vāmadeva is mentioned in Book I (7.4) of the *Rāmāyaṇa* while the same king's other counsellor and family priest Vasiṣṭha has been called Aurvnśeya (born of Urvaśī) probably on the strength

10 See Cowell's trans., *SBE*, Vol. XLIX, pp. 80, 90, 100-01.

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of the Urvaśī legend in the *Uttara-kāṇḍa* (56-57),[11] both Books being an interpolation in the original *Rāmāyaṇa*. Moreover, Aśvaghoṣa speaks of Daśaratha's death shortly after Rāma's exile, and this suits the story of Vālmīki only since, according to the *Daśaratha Jātaka*, the king died nine years after Rāma's departure to the forest. Thus the *Rāmāyaṇa* had assumed its present form in Aśvaghoṣa's time, i.e. in the first or second century A.D. It is interesting to note that the Buddhist author does not exhibit any knowledge of the Buddhist *Daśaratha Jātaka*. The same is the case with *Jayaddisa Jātaka* (No. 513), a *Gāthā* of which refers to Rāma's exile in the Daṇḍakāraṇya, and this is in accordance with the *Rāmāyaṇa* story, the *Daśaratha Jātaka* speaking of Rāma's exile in the Himālaya. As the *Gāthā* in question is assignable to the second or third century B.C.,[12] it suggests the antiquity of Vālmīki's composition.

The *Daśaratha Jātaka Gāthās* were originally a Buddhist adaptation of the Rāma-Bharata dialogue in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (II.100) with a particular Buddhistic purpose ; but the *Jātaka* story was a deliberate distortion which was a general practice followed by the Buddhists and Jainas in respect of Brāhmaṇical legends. This purposeful distortion can be proved by citing numerous instances from the literature of the two communities.

We have referred above to *Jayaddisa Jātaka Gāthā* referring to Rāma's exile in the Daṇḍaka forest. The story is that a young man went away to offer himself to an ogre, and his mother observed that her prayers could save her son just as the prayers of Rāma's mother saved him when he was staying in the Daṇḍakāraṇya. This quite clear reference to the *Rāmāyaṇa* story has been suppressed[13] by the Buddhist commentator who has fabricated the following story on its basis. There was at Vārāṇasī a person named Rāma who was devoted to his mother. In connection with a trade mission, Rāma went to the city of Kumbhavatī in the kingdom of Daṇḍakī. When heavy rains flooded Daṇḍakī's territory, Rāma thought of his father and mother, and because he had been dutiful towards his mother, the gods gave him protection and took him to his mother. It will indeed be too much to trace another source of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in this foolish fabrication.[14] It is also difficult to believe in the ex-

11 Cowell takes *Aurvaśeya* to mean Agastya after Hemacandra's lexicon. Both Agastya and Vasiṣṭha were born together; but the former was not the family priest of Daśaratha as he is represented in the *Buddhacarita*. The reference to Vasiṣṭtha's birth from Urvasī has been traced in the Vedic literature (*Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 276).

12 Winternitz (*op. cit.*, p. 509, note 3) says, "The *Jātakagāthās*, too, contain earlier and later portions"; but he does not mean that the *Gāthās* incorporated in the *Khuddaka-nikāya* are of a date later than the second century B.C.

13 The fabricators of the stories were mostly Ceylonese monks who may have avoided Vālmīki's story because it represented the Ceylonese as ogres.

14 This fabrication has been generally regarded by scholars as ludicrous. See Ghosh, I. C., *Jātaka*, trans. (Bengali), Vol. V, p. 16, note.

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istence of other popular Rāma legends after the *Rāmayaṇa* had obtained its present form and become quite popular as early as the second century A.D. when Kumāralāta's *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* speaks of its public recitation.

We are inclined here to refer our readers only to a few other stories of Buddhist literarure, such as the distortion of the *Harivaṁśa* saga of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva in the *Ghaṭa* (or *Ghata*) *Jātaka* (No. 454) and of the *Mahābhārata* story of Kṛṣṇā Draupadī in the *Kuṇāla Jātaka* (No. 536).

According to the *Ghaṭa Jātaka*, the ten brothers, viz. Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa), Baladeva, Candradeva, Sūryadeva, Agnideva, Varuṇadeva, Arjuna, Pradyumna, Ghaṭapaṇḍita and Aṅkura, were born of Devagarbhā (sister of Kaṁsa, king of the city of Asitāñjana, and of Upakaṁsa, his *Uparāja*) and Upasāgara (the figurative prince of Uttara-Mathurā, as opposed to Dakṣiṇa-Mathurā or Madurai), but were allowed by their parents to be known as the children of Nandagopā and Andhakaviṣṇu. The brothers grew up and became a band of decoits. When Kaṁsa learnt that they were his sister's children who had been predicted to be the cause of the destruction of his kingdom, he tried to subdue them ; but, in the contest that followed, Baladeva killed Cāṇūra and Muṣṭika and Vāsudeva both his maternal uncles, Kaṁsa and Upakaṁsa. Thus the ten brothers became the rulers of Kaṁsa's kingdom having their capital at Asitāñjana. Later, by a trick, they succeeded in conquering Dvārāvatī after killing its king and transferred their capital to that city. They next conquered the 63,000 cities of Jambudvīpa after having killed their kings. The whole of Jambudvīpa was then divided among the ten brothers ; but Aṅkura gave away his share to their sister Añjanā and took to trade. Thus Dvārāvatī became the capital of the nine brothers each possessing a part of Jambudvīpa.

It is quite clear that the *Ghaṭa Jātaka* story is the *Harivaṁśa* legend of Kṛṣṇa in a distorted form and is certainly not the source of the *Harivaṁśa*. Lüders suggested that the Kṛṣṇa legend is presented ' in a degenerate condition ' in the prose part of the *Ghaṭa Jātaka* ' as so complicated a legend, separated from its home, was bound to be in course of time '.[15] This view, which fails to notice the deliberate distortion of the story, is certainly wrong because the intervening period between the *Harivaṁśa* and the *Ghaṭa Jātaka* is not very great. The *Harivaṁśa* is assigned to about the close of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D.,[16] and the *Ghaṭa Jātaka* can be attributed to the fifth century and at any rate cannot be later than the sixth century.

In the *Kuṇāla Jātaka* story referred to above, Kṛṣṇā (i e. Draupadī) is represented as the daughter of the king of Kosala and the step daughter of king Brahmadatta of Kāśī. She is stated to have been exceptionally lustful and un-

15 *ZDMG*, Vol. 58, (1904), pp. 689 ff.; cf. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 11⁰, note 2.

16 Farquhar, J. N. *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 143.

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chaste and to have committed adultery regularly with a deformed wretch in spite of her five husbands. These five husbands were sons of Pāṇḍu, viz, Arjuna, Nakula, Bhīmasena, Yudhiṣṭhira and Sahadeva who happened to visit Vārāṇasī after finishing their education at Takṣaśilā, and all the five were chosen by Kṛṣṇā herself as her husband in a *svayaṁvara* because one husband was quite insufficient for her. When Kṛṣṇā's faithlessness was explained by Arjuna to his younger brothers, the five husbands left her and went to the Himālaya to live the life of ascetics.

There can be no doubt that this story is a distorted version of Draupadī's legend as found in the *Mahābhārata* and cannot be the source of the latter. Similar is undoubtedly the case as regards the relation between the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Daśaratha Jātaka* stories. It is idle to say that the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Daśaratha Jātaka* borrowed from a common source, because any such earlier tradition having not been so far discovered, anything can be imagined. It should be noted here that Kṛṣṇā's depravity is mentioned in the *Kuṇāla Jātaka* in a *Gāthā* which seems to have been introduced in the Jātaka by the commentator.

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KĀLA-ŚAKTI OF ĪŚVARA IN THE BHĀGAVATA PURĀṆA

By

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Devotion is the main subject of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. In course of its discussion pertaining to devotion the author describes *Īśvara* as a perpetual creator, protector and destroyer and emphasises the immanence of *Īśvara*. The description of His different powers with which he creates, protects and destroys is purposeful in the context of devotion inasmuch as it inspires reverence and faith in Him. This article, takes the view of *Kāla-Śakti* of Īśvara described in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

Nature of Kāla-Śakti

The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* observes that *Prakṛti*, an expression of *Māyā-Śakti*, creates the world, but *Prakṛti* cannot create independently of the Lord, nor can *Prakṛti* create when it is in the state of equilibrium (*sāmyāvasthā*). So the Lord is said to be disturbing, the equilibrium with His *Kāla-Śakti*.[1] Thus *Kāla* is another power of the Lord, which helps Him in the activity of creation. If *Prakṛti* is the material cause of creation, *Kāla* is the efficient cause.[2] It is for this reason that the *Bhāgavata* remarks that *Kāla* is an external form of the Lord.[3] *Kāla* is said to be without a beginning and without an end (*anādi* and *anant*)[4] and therefore is identified with *Īśvara*.[5] All the created beings are said to be under the sway of *Kāla*. Nobody can escape from the clutches of *Kāla*. Even Indra, along with all the Lokapālas is subjected to *Kāla*.[6] It is *Kāla* which brings together creatures and separates them, as the wind that brings together the mass of clouds and disperses them. It will be noted with interest how the externality of the operative power of *Kāla* is very aptly indicated by its comparison with the wind. It is with the greatness of *Kāla* in view that Bhīṣma has remarked that the misfortune of the *Paṇḍava*s was due to *Kāla*.[7] It is, therefore, stated that a mortal being cannot know the course of *Kāla* nor is he capable of counteracting the working of *Kāla*. The usual weapons such as physical strength, intelligence, wise ministers, incantations of mantras, medicines etc., with which men fight with adverse circumstances and calamities are said to fail to counteract *Kāla*. With

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1 BP 1.10.22; 2.5.22; 3.20.12; 3.26.17; 4.11.18.
2 BP 11.24.19; 12.3.26.
3 BP 3.26.18.
4 BP 4.11.19.
5 BP 4.11.22 and Śrīdhara's Commentary.
6 BP 1.8.4; 1.9.14; 1.13.19, 39, 40; 6.12.8.
7 BP 1.8.4.

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the rope of *Kāla*, the individual soul is said to be bound to this world. Though *Kāla* is fearful as indicated by the above description, it appears to be conceived as possessed of a soothing effect as well, inasmuch as it puts an end to all painful memories. The liberated souls however, are not affected by *Kāla*, since they are said to be transcending the barrier of *Kāla*.[8]

Kāla is conceived as existing even after the destruction, since without it the following creation cannot start. It is thus that *Kāla* is the Eternal Reality. *Kāla* is not only a creative power, *Kāla* can also be said to be a benevolent supporter of the world.

At *Bhāgavata* 5.22.3, the author states that Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa has divided Himself into twelve months, for the well being of the people, and he imparts to the six seasons their respective properties giving rise to hot or cold seasons. Then at *Bhāgavata* 3.11.5, *Kāla* has been identified with the sun, and the author remarks that *Kāla* in the form of the sun enchances the potency of the seeds. What is implied is, the growth of food that we eat is prompted by *Kāla*; similarly the seasonal changes enjoyed by human beings attain their properties through the instrumentality of time, which is of the form of the Lord. Thus the role of *Kāla* as the protector and supporter of the world is impressed on the mind of a votary.

Kāla is a destructive power also, since it plays a vital part in the activity of destruction as well. What is created by God at the time of creation, is destroyed by Him with His *Kāla-Śakti*, at the time of dissolution (*BP* 11.9.16).

Four kinds of dissolutions are caused by the *Kāla-Śakti* i.e. the destructive power of the Lord; they are (1) *Nitya-pralaya*, (2) *Naimittika-pralaya*, (3) *Prākṛtika-pralaya*, (4) *Ātyantika-pralaya* (*BP*.12.4.38; 12.7.17). Every entity undergoes a change every moment. Such a change is considered to be a *pralaya* or a dissolution for the entity as far as its earlier existence is concerned. Since such a change takes place every moment, it is said to be '*Nitya-pralaya*'. The cause of it is *Kāla*. *Naimittika-pralaya* is said to take place when the three worlds merge into Brahmā (*BP*.12.4.4). When Brahmā's life comes to an end, all creation, both gross and subtle, dissolves into *Prakṛti*. This dissolution of the creation is termed by the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as *Prākṛtika-pralaya* (*BP*.12.4.5, 6). At this *pralaya*, *Kāla* restores the lost equilibrium of the *Prakṛti*. *Kāla* is said to sweep away even the world of Brahmā. Emancipation of the soul is referred to as the fourth *pralaya*; this is *Ātyantika-pralaya*, according to the *BP*.12.4.34.

It would be worthwhile at this stage to understand the relative positions, of the '*Prākṛtika*' and '*Ātyantika*' *pralays*.

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8 BP. 1.11.6; 8.12.44; 9.4.67.

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In the '*Prākṛtika--pralaya*' all creations, both gross and subtle merge into the *Prakṛti* and therefore this *pralaya* is called '*Prākṛtika-pralaya*'; but this *pralaya* is not absolute; because at this *pralaya*, the individual soul, not having realised its identity with the universal soul, is again subjected to creation. It is thus on account of the postulation of this kind of *pralaya* dissolution (*utpatti* and *pralaya*) goes on (*BP.*12.4.35, 36).

In '*Ātyantika-pralaya*', on the other hand, there is a complete and eternal merging of the individual soul into the universal soul, and thus the '*Ātyantika-pralaya*' constitutes the emancipation of the individual soul. The author remarks that, when the individual soul becomes attached to the qualities of *Prakṛti* and is stupefied by ego (*ahaṅkriyāvimūḍhātmā BP.*3.27.2), he is helplessly subjected to transmigration, but when the individual soul, being purged of ego, and becoming totally indifferent to the world, all his doubts having been removed, reaches the Supreme, there is as a result no return from the Supreme. The *Bhāgavata* refers to this stage as '*Ātyantika-gati* (*BP.* 3,27.30 ; 12.4.34) i.e. the absolute state. Since the merging of the soul into the highest is absolute, the question of further creation for the soul does not arise at all.

Thus from the above discussion, *Kāla* can be understood as the combination creative, protective and destructive power. *Kāla* will continue to perform creative and destructive activity repeatedly. The dissolution, however, cannot prevent the soul from achieving his goal, because, after dissolution, *Kāla* along with *Prakṛti* brings into existence further creation. The soul hankering after emancipation can therefore never feel despondent about the achievement of the goal, as he is granted infinite opportunity of striving for the same.

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A NOTE ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF LĀVĀṆAKA OF BHĀSA'S SVAPNAVĀSAVADATTAM

By

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There is no denying the fact that a comprehensive and systematic geography of ancient India is undoubtedly a great necessity. The present paper is a humble attempt in the same direction. Bhāsa, the celebrated author of *Svapnavāsavadattam* has mentioned Lāvāṇaka as a village in connection with the romantic military exploits of Udayana, the famous king of the Vatsa kingdom.[1] Its capital was Kauśāmbl or modern Kosam on the bank of the river Yamunā to the south of Allahabad. Buddha's contemporary ruler of Vatsa kingdom was Udayana, son of Śatānīka Parantapa of the Bharata dynasty. Tradition has preserved many stories of Udayana's romantic adventures and wars. Among the plays attributed to Bhāsa, the finest is undoubtedly the 'Dream of Vāsavadattā' (*Svapnavāsavadattam*). The theme of the play has been drawn from the ancient Udayana cycle of romance. The Queen Vāsavadattā is persuated by Yaugandharāyaṇa, his high minister, to have it announced that she has perished in a conflagration, so that king Udayana could be led to make another politically advantagous marriage which he would otherwise have refused. Udayana, however, continues to dream of his lost love, who is actually serving disguised as a maid in the inner apartments. In some occasions she mingles in the king's half-walking dreams without daring to wake him fully. Lāvāṇaka was the place which was announced by the high minister of Udayana where Queen Vāsavadattā died in a conflagration.[2] Bhāsa has described it as a village in the Vatsa Mahājanapada. The site may be conveniently identified with the modern Lāvāyaṇa village in Karachana sub-division of the Allahabad District of U.P. Present Karachana was included in the ancient Vatsa kingdom and the site was hardly few miles away from Kauśāmbī, the capital of the Vatsa Janapada. The present village Lāvāṇaka is situated on an impressive huge ancient mound. The analysis of the surface collection proves the high antiquity of the site. The regular, systematic excavation of the site will be fruitful for the study of various aspects of history and culture of the Mahājanapadas. The site is situated on the left bank of the river Gaṅgā. It is 14 miles away from Allahabad.

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1 *Svapnavāsavadattam*, Act I.

2 *Ibid.*

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SAHADEVA'S GLOSS ON VĀMANA'S POETICS

By

K. KRISHNAMOORTHY, Dharwar

We owe the first reference to Sahadeva's Gloss on Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra-vṛtti* to the late C. D. Dalal who edited the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rājaśekhara for the Gaekwar Oriental Series (3rd Edn. 1934, Baroda). On page 160 of his notes to the said work [p. 118, first edition], he quotes three verses from the commentator Sahadeva regarding the text of Vāmana's Poetics :—

वेदिता सर्वशास्त्राणां भट्टोऽभून्मुकुलाभिधः ।
लब्ध्वा कुतश्चिदादर्शं भ्रष्टाम्नायं समुद्वहन् ॥
काव्यालंकारशास्त्रं यत्तेनैतद्वामनोदितम् ।
असूया तन्न कर्तव्या विशेषालोकिभिः क्वचित् ॥
आकर्ण्य भवतस्तस्माद्दयितस्य विधीयते ।
विवृतिः सहदेवेन वामनीयस्य संप्रति ॥

That Vāmana's text had gone out of vogue in Kashmir (in the 10th century A.D.) and that Bhaṭṭa Mukula, the teacher of Sahadeva, procured a copy of the text with great difficulty from somewhere and revived the tradition of its study—is recorded in these verses. Sahadeva assures us that his gloss faithfully represents the teaching tradition of the *guru*.

Since then, S. K. De and P. V. Kane have referred to Sahadeva in their works basing their remarks only on the information of Dalal.[1] More recently, in Dr. K. Raghavan Pillai's Introduction to his edition of the *Vākyapadīya*,[2] we find four verses cited from Sahadeva *in extenso* ; the first from the beginning of his work ; and the last three from the concluding portion :—

आकर्ण्य भवतस्तस्माद्दयितस्य विधीयते ।
विवृतिः सहदेवेन वामनीयस्य सम्प्रति ॥
चतुर्दशानामपि यः प्रसिद्धो
विद्यास्थितीनां परपारदृश्वा ।
शशाङ्कपूर्वं धर इत्युदारं
यन्नाम लोके नितरां प्रसिद्धम् ॥
तदीयशिष्यः सहदेवनामा
कुले प्रसूतः खलु तोमराणाम् ।

1 Vide—De, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Firma, K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1960, p. 82; Kane, P. V., *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Bombay, 1951, p. 735.

2 Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1971, p. xvii.

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व्याख्यामिमां काव्यविचारशास्त्रे
व्यधत्त लघ्वीमिति वामनीये ॥
काश्मीरदेशादपसर्पतो मे
शब्दानुशुद्धिं त्रिमुनिं निशम्य ।
अवाप्तसिद्धेर्वरुणात्मजस्य
प्रयोजकोऽभूदिह पद्मनाभः ॥

These verses show that Sahadeva was a disciple of Śaśāṅka-dhara, that he hailed from the family of Tomaras, that he was the son of Varuṇa and that he was commissioned to write this Gloss by one Padmanābha.

Now this Sahadeva may most probably be identical with Śaśāṅka-śiṣya who taught grammar to Puṇya-rāja, the commentator of the *Vākya-kāṇḍa* of Bhartṛhari.[3] Comparing the above verses of Sahadeva with those of Puṇyarāja, namely—

इत्येव वाक्यकाण्डस्य प्रमेयविषयाः स्मृताः ।
सङ्गतिः कीर्तिता लघ्वी समासेन निराकुला ॥
विद्वज्जनानां यः खलु सर्वत्र गीयते जगति ।
तत उपसृत्य विरचिता राजानक शूरवर्मनाम्ना वै ।
शशाङ्कशिष्याच्छ्रुत्वैतद् वाक्यकाण्डं समासतः ।
पुण्यराजेन तस्योक्तो संगतिः कारिकाश्रिता ॥

Dr. Ashok Aklujkar has come to the same conclusion that Puṇyarāja should be held as a direct disciple of Sahadeva, the pupil of Śaśāṅka-dhara.[4] This Śaśāṅka-dhara is referred to by Kṣīrasvāmin (Circa 1058-1108 A.D.) in his *Kṣīratarangiṇī*.[5] This squares up with the probable date of Mukula-Bhaṭṭa, the teacher of Śaśāṅka-dhara, viz. Circa 900 A.D. Sahadeva's date may therefore be fixed roughly between 950 and 1000 A.D.

II

Sahadeva's Gloss on Vāmana is preserved only in a single manuscript ; and the original manuscript at the Oriental Institute, Baroda, which was available to the late C. D. Dalal is no longer traceable there. Fortunately, a transcript[6] in Devanāgarī of this Manuscript completed on 29-1-1891 is available at the Kerala University Oriental Research Institute whose Director is Dr. K. Raghavan

3 See—Charudeva Shastri, *Proceedings of the V Oriental Conference*, Lahore, 1930, pp. 653-654.

4 Aklujakar Ashok, "The Authorship of the Vākya-Kāṇḍa-ṭīkā", *CharuDeva Shastri Felicitation Volume*, Delhi, 1974, pp. 168, 182.

5 Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṁsaka, संस्कृतव्याकरणशास्त्र का इतिहास, Vol. 2. Ajmer, Samvat 2019, pp. 84-85.

6 Its Number in the Mss. Catalogue of the Library is T. 316.

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Pillai. Thanks to his kind courtesy, I had an occasion to have a look at this rare transcript in June 1974 and the present note is based on the extracts taken by me therefrom.

Sahadeva is thus the earliest glossator on Vāmana's Poetics and it is evident that he is a grammarian *par excellence*; even in the chapters that deal with poetics proper, his interest is mainly grammatical and he passes over whole pages without comment. His comments, by and large, provide formal grammatical notes on words in the text with reference to the *sūtras* of Pāṇini. Naturally, it is not of much interest to one interested solely in Poetics. Yet, there are one or two exceptions to this general rule which are noted below :—

III

1. *What exactly is Rīti* ?

In any survey of Sanskrit Poetics, whether ancient or modern, *Rīti* is generally dismissed as an unimportant or insignificant concept, its originality being limited to its name only. The reason is that the concept of *Rīti* did not blossom out into a full-fledged poetic theory like *Rasa* or *Dhvani*, *Guṇa* or *Alaṅkāra*, at the hands of succeeding writers. Leaving Vāmana, no one includes *Rīti* as the differentia in a definition of poetry. Either it is equated with the *guṇas* of other writers like Bhāmaha, or with *saṅghaṭanā* (a concept developed about the same time by Udbhaṭa) by almost all the theorists of *Dhvani*. Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Mammaṭa, Hemacandra, Vidyādhara and Vidyānātha agree with one voice that *rīti* can have no claim for any recognition as *ātman* or soul of poetry, a claim which is exclusively that of *Rasa-Dhvani*. *Guṇas* are only *dharmas* or qualities and they can belong only to the *dharmin* or entity namely *Rasa* and any description of them as qualities exclusively of *bandha* or *saṅghaṭanā* is *ipso facto* fallacious. Among all the text-book writers, it is only Jagannātha who is not so sure and who leaves the question open whether *guṇas* may not after all be of just *śabda* and *artha*.

The cryptic *sūtras* of Vāmana, viz. रीतिरात्मा काव्यस्य । विशिष्टा पदरचना रीतिः । विशेषो गुणात्मा[7] do apparently convey the meaning that effective word-usage with an eye to one or more literary qualities or excellences constitutes *Rīti*. So understood, it leaves the door open for objectors like Mammaṭa to ask– ' Do the *guṇas* make for poetry severally or collectively ? If the former, how can *Gauḍīyā* and *Pāñcālī* with but a few *guṇas* be regarded as *Rīti*, the soul of poetry ? If the latter, the presence of a single *guṇa* like *ojas* should be enough to make a line poetic though it be most prosaic like—

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7 I. ii. 6-8.

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"अद्रावत्र प्रज्ज्वलत्यग्निरुच्चैः ।"[8]

It will be seen also that Vāmana's concept of *Rīti* has been usually confused or equated with Udbhaṭa's concept of *Saṅghaṭanā* which is the basis of his three *Kāvyavṛttis* namely, *Upanāgarikā*, *Paruṣā* and *Grāmyā* or (*Komalā*), which are in fact three forms of *anuprāsajāti* or alliterative direction. The first record of this is furnished in Ānandavardhana's statement at the beginning of the *Dhvanyāloka* :

"सङ्घटनाधर्माश्च ये माधुर्यादयस्तेऽपि प्रतीयन्ते । तदनतिरिक्तवृत्तयोऽपि याः कैश्चिदुपनागरिकाद्याः प्रकाशिताः, ता अपि गताः श्रवणगोचरम् । रीतयश्च वैदर्भीप्रभृतयः ॥"[9]

The *Locana* makes it quite clear that Udbhaṭa's *Vṛttis* are alleged here to be not different from the *Śabdālaṅkāra*, viz.; *anuprāsa* and Vāmana's *rītis* to be not different from *guṇas*; but Mammaṭa and the rest did not make this fine distinction. They went on to understand the expression of Ānandavardhana regarding *Vṛtti* and *Rīti* to be equally applicable to both and arrived at the wrong conclusion that both *Vṛtti* and *Saṅghaṭanā* or *Rīti* were equally subsumed under the category of *Varṇānuprāsa* itself. There is a double confusion in all this. Firstly Udbhaṭa's *saṅghaṭanā* envisages only three *Guṇas* whereas Vāmana's involves virtually twenty (ten of *śabda* and ten of *artha*) and even if we might partially equate some of Vāmana's *śabda-guṇas* or *bandha-guṇas* with *saṅghaṭanā-guṇas* of Udbhaṭa, it is virtually impossible to equate any of Vāmana's *artha-guṇas* with Udbhaṭa's *saṅghaṭanā-guṇas*. *Saṅghaṭanā-guṇas* might be independent of *rasa* (*rasa-nirapekṣa*) sometimes, but *Artha-guṇas* of Vāmana is inclusive of *dipta-rasa* as *kānti* or ' splendour '.[10] The basis for all these confusions is furnished by the statement of Vidyācakravartin quoted in the footnote No. 10 imagining that *Rīti*

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8 यदप्युक्तम्–काव्यशोभायाः कर्तारो धर्मा गुणास्तदतिशयहेतवोऽलङ्कारा इति, तदपि न युक्तम् । यतः किं समस्तगुणैः काव्यव्यवहारः उत कतिपयैः । यदि समस्तैः तत् कथमसमस्तगुणा गौडीया पाञ्चाली च रीतिः काव्यस्यात्मा । अथ कतिपयैः 'ततः अद्रावत्र प्रज्वलत्यग्निरुच्चैः' इत्यादावोजःप्रभृतिषु सत्सु काव्यव्यवहारप्राप्तिः ।

—Mammaṭa, *Kāvyaprakāśa*, Part I, Ed. R. C. Parikh, Jodhpur, 1959, p. 202. This is also echoed verbatim by later text-book writers like Vidyādhara and Vidyānātha.

9 *Dhvanyāloka*, Ed. K. Krishnamoorthy, Dharwar, 1974, p. 2.

10 Ruyyaka's observation—

केवलं गुणविशिष्टपदरचनात्मिका रीतिः काव्यात्मत्वेनोक्ता—

—*Alaṅkārasarvasva*, Ed. Janaki and Raghavan, Delhi, 1965, p. 9 and the *Sañjīvinī* thereon:—

केवलग्रहणाद्रसालङ्कारनैरपेक्ष्यं कटाक्षितम्। रसालङ्कारनिरपेक्षैर्माधुर्यादिभिर्गुणैः विशिष्टा येयं सङ्घटना वैदर्भ्यादिरूपिणी रीतिः सैव काव्यात्मेत्युक्ता । तथा च सूत्रितं तेन—'रीतिरात्मा काव्यस्य' इति । प्रख्यापितं च—"अविदितगुणापि सत्कविभणितिः कर्णेषु वमति मधुधाराम्। अनाधिगतपरिमलापि हि हरति दृशं मालतीमाला" ॥ इति ।

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is no more than a synonym of *Vṛtti* and that *Rīti* has as much to do with alliterative diction as *Vṛtti*.[11] This has been indicated already. At the back of it is the further confusion that any individual *guṇa* can constitute a *Rīti* in Vāmana's poetics. This may apply to Udbhaṭa's idea of *saṅghaṭanā* but not to Vāmana's idea of *rīti*.

If we examine carefully Abhinavagupta's explanation of Vāmana's idea of *rīti* in the *Locana*, we will find how he is entirely free from the confusions of later writers like Mammaṭa and Ruyyaka. He states unequivocally as follows :

रीतयश्चेति । तदनतिरिक्तवृत्तयोऽपि गताः श्रवणगोचरमिति सम्बन्धः । तच्छब्देनात्र माधुर्यादयो गुणाः। तेषां च समुचितवृत्त्यर्पणे यदन्योन्यमेलनक्षमत्वेन पानक इव गुडमरिचादिरसानां संघातरूपतागमनं दीप्तललितमध्यवर्णनीयविषयं गौडीयवैदर्भपाञ्चालदेशहेवाकप्राचुर्यदशा तदेव त्रिविधं रीतिरित्युक्तम्। जातिर्जातिमतो नान्या समुदायश्च समुदायिनो नान्य इति वृत्तिरीतयो न गुणालङ्कारव्यतिरिक्ता इति स्थित एवासौ व्यतिरेकी हेतुः ।[12]

This is a very crucial passage where the position of the *prācīnas* is set out with reference to *vṛtti* and *rīti*. They affirm the primacy of the aesthetic concepts of *alaṅkāra* on the one hand and *guṇa* on the other. Hence they proceed to explain away Udbhaṭa's *vṛtti* as involved in *alaṅkāra* and Vāmana's *rīti* as involved in *guṇa*. Vāmana's, *rīti* according to them, is the name given not to any mechanical summation of individual *guṇa*s, but to an aesthetic compound of style relishable only as a whole, and in whose relish, the individuality of the ingredient *guṇa*s is indiscernible to the connoisseur. What Bharata had said of *Nāṭyarasa* is made to apply here *mutatis mutandis* to *rīti*.[13] In a cool drink consisting of several ingredients like pepper, sugar and so on, only one unitary taste is felt by the man who drinks it and he cannot distinguish at that time the different tastes of the several ingredients. In the same way, *Rīti* is one whole impression of poetic style. It is three-fold because of the three-fold nature of the poetic theme (*varṇanīya-viṣaya*) which may be either glowing, sweet or soft. When the genus (*jāti*) of *rīti* is held as virtually contained in the several species (of *guṇa*s) that constitute it, the primacy of *guṇa*s becomes evident in the *pūrvapakṣin's* view, in the *Dhvanyāloka*.

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11 वर्णालङ्कारोऽनुप्रासः तत्समकक्ष्यका एता रीतयः, यतः द्वयोरपि वर्णधर्मता । एतदभिसंधाय वृत्त्यनुप्रासवर्णालङ्कारप्रस्तावे वैदर्भ्यादयो रीतयो विवेचिताः काव्यप्रकाशकृदादिभिः । ग्रन्थकारोऽपि तत्र विवेचयिष्यति ॥

12 *Locana*, KSRI Edn. Madras, p. 47-48.

13 Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. VI; *vṛtti* on the famous *sūtra*—"

" विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः " ।

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It is here that Sahadeva's commentary sheds a welcome light on Vāmana's text in question. *Vaidarbhī* is described by Vāmana as endowed with all *guṇas*[14] and is illustrated by Kālidasa's verse, "*gāhantāṁ mahiṣā*" etc. Commenting on this, Sahadeva has the following observations to make :—

श्लोके कः कस्मिन्नंशे गुणो व्यवस्थित इति प्रत्यवयवं समग्रगुणनिरूपणायां नात्मा खेदनीयः। यथैव हि मरिचादीनि द्रव्याणि पृथगुपलब्धस्वभावान्यपि यावकरसलेपादिषु न विवेकेनोपलभ्यन्ते, अपि तु यावकाद्येव तद्विलक्षणास्वादवायि प्रतिभासते, तथैव गुणगुम्फिता सकला पदरचनैव काव्यतत्त्वविचारचतुरधियां चित्तचमत्कारकारिणी प्रतिभासपथमवतरति। ननु ततो व्यतिरेकेण पुरःपुरतो वा गुणः प्रतिभासमरणिमवतरति। एकैकशोऽपि निबध्यमाना दुरवधारप्रायाः किमङ्ग समुदिता दुरवधारा न भविष्यन्ति।

Here we find the analogy of a tasteful drink changed to a lac-dye prepared from several ingredients. The delightful impression is of one colour-harmony and the separate shades of the individual constituents cannot be discerned by the onlooker. Similar is the nature of *Rīti*. A reading of this passage will show how possibly Abhinavagupta might have been himself influenced by Sahadeva in his explanation of *Rīti*. This colour analogy is most appropriate in so far as ten *guṇas* in their entirety yield *Vaidarbhī*, while a few only go to form other *Rītis*. The three *Rītis* are distinguishable from each other but not the several *guṇas* in any poetic composition. That is Vāmana's idea of *Rīti*, and in this connection the implications of the *sūtras*—तासां पूर्वा ग्राह्या, गुणसाकल्यात्। न पुनरितरे, स्तोकगुणत्वात्।[15] तस्यामर्थगुणसम्पदास्वाद्या; तदुपारोहादर्थगुणलेशोऽपि। सापि वैदर्भी तात्स्थ्यात्।[16] deserve to be fully appreciated. Though *Rīti* is primarily a designation of verbal usage with long or medium compounds and so on, in the case of the best *rīti*, viz. *Vaidarbhī*, it becomes best because it serves as the best medium to mirror forth the beauty of *artha* or meaning. The end is *arthaguṇasampat* while a compoundless *racanā* or *bandha* is only a means thereto. Hence in Vāmana's terminology the expression *rīti* starts with syllabic and dictional dexterity of the poet's expression but ends up in wealth of aesthetic meaning, at least in the '*rīti*' *par excellence*, namely, *Vaidarbhī*. Hence any criticism of Vāmana's concept of *rīti* which ignores this aspect of significance (or *artha-guṇa*) will have to be dismissed as partial and prejudiced. Every *guṇa* has a two-fold function relating first to *śabda-racanā* or *bandha* and then to *artha-sampat*. One cannot be dissociated from the other though formally we have to construe that *śabda-racanā* or *pada-racanā* itself is inclusive of the *artha* aspect also ultimately. Sahadeva, therefore, rightly points out at the outset itself that the procedure of discovering *guṇas* severally in any given instance is only a useless exercise. As far as I know, no other writer on *Alaṅkāra* has brought out this crucial point so vividly.

14 *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti*, I. i. 11:— समग्रगुणोपेता वैदर्भी।

15 *Op. ctt.*, I. ii. 14 and 15 compare the following *sūtras* also.

16 *Op. cit.*, I. ii. 20-22. The *vṛtti* on the last *sūtra* reads—
सापि इयमर्थगुणसंपद्वैदर्भीत्युक्ता।

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IV

That Sahadeva was aware of the theory that *Rasas* are exclusively due to the suggestive function of words in poetry is instanced in some of his remarks as the following :—

1. Vāmana's theory is that *gadya* provides the best touchstone of a poets' greatness- गद्यं कवीनां निकषं वदन्ति।[17] Sahadeva justifies this by pointing out that at least metre is a well-worn convention for standard poetical descriptions embodying specific *rasa* and one without much originality also can try his hand with some success therein ; but the case is different in respect of *gadya* where no metrical models exist, and the *rasas* have to be suggested in an entirely original manner by the poet by his own imagination.

नियतगुरुलघुविन्यासात्मके हि पद्ये शृङ्गारादिरसानुगुण्येनान्यैः छन्दस्कारैः मार्गः प्रदर्शितः, भरतशास्त्रे च प्रतिरसं विशेषेण छन्दोनियमः प्रदर्शित एव, गद्ये तु गुरुलघुनियमाभावात् तत्तद्रसाभिव्यञ्जनसमर्थस्वकल्पनाकलितगुरुलघुवर्णविन्यासां पदसन्ततिं रचयन् पूर्वमार्गानिर्माणचतुरः कविः प्रजापतिरिव जागर्तीत्यभिप्रायः।

Again, this is a very noteworthy explanation. It explains why in Sanskrit literature the *Padya-kavis* outnumber *gadya-kavis* in all the centuries.[18]

V

The relative chronology of Vāmana and Udbhaṭa has not been settled yet beyond dispute. All indications are that they were contemporaries ; but who was the senior between the two is not clear. In two instances at least—i.e, with regard to the figure of speech called '*Sandeha*'[19] and the Mixed Figure called '*Saṁsṛṣṭi*'[20], Sahadeva tries to quote at length the rival position of Udbhaṭa and justifies Vāmana's definitions. In the case of the latter, it is well known that Bhāmaha, Vāmana and Rudraṭa are aware only of one head of Mixed figures viz. *Saṁsṛṣṭi* and they give that designation to instances where one of the figures depends on the other, besides instances of two independent figures in

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17 *Vṛtti* on I. iii. 21, *op. cit.*

18 Regarding Bharata's prescriptions of particular metres in relation to particular *rasas* see, *Nāṭyaśāstra*:—

रूपदीपकसंयुक्तमार्यावृत्तसमाश्रयम् ।
शृङ्गारे तु रसे कार्यं मृदुवृत्तं तथैव च ॥
शुद्धसंकीर्णयोस्तज्ज्ञैरुक्तिः संप्रकीर्तिता ।
करुणे शक्करी चैव.....

—Vol. II. G.O.S. Edn. 1934, Ch. XVI. 95-112.

19 *Op. cit.*, IV. iii. 11.

20 *Op. cit.*, IV. iii. 30.

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the same verse. But Udbhaṭa invented the name '*Saṅkara*' for the first time for the first category of mixture involving dependence. Historically speaking, the four-fold classification of *Saṅkara* seems to be later and appears to have originated with Udbhaṭa. We may therefore guess that Vāmana was either anterior to Udbhaṭa or at least represented an anterior tradition of poetics.[21]

21 For fuller details, see K. Krishnamoorthy, *Dhvanyāloka*, Dharwar, 1974, pp. 352-354.

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RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY[1]

By

ANANTALAL THAKUR, Patna

Religion and Philosophy in our country are the concave and convex sides of the same entity. No system of philosophy is divested of religious practices. Nor does a religion stand without its philosophical background. Even the Cārvākas had their religious practices and we hear of a Yogaśāstra of their own. It is in the fitness of things that we should combine the two into one section.

It can, by no means, be said that we have so far been able to critically study the vast religious and philosophical literature of the land. Some works are available in print while some are hidden in manuscripts. In some cases fragments are extant. In others the names alone are known.

Our religious texts are broadly divided into three classes—Vedic, Purāṇic and Tāntric. Among these the available Vedic works have mostly been studied, edited and translated. It is only rarely that we hear of the discovery of a Vedic text like the *Paippalādasaṃhitā* of the *Atharvaveda*. We are indebted to the Vedicists in the East as well as in the West, whose labours have presented a clear and connected picture of our earliest religious and social conditions. I would like to point out that the study of the living Vedic religion among us has not received due attention as yet. It is true that the *Śrauta* rites have almost become obsolete. But their remnants are still current in the *Gṛhya* rituals. Thus the Aśvamedha and Sautrāmaṇi sacrifices are things of the past. But the *mantra*s used in their concluding baths are recited by the twice-born in their daily prayers. Again the *mantra*s of the *Paśubandha* are used in similar Paurāṇic sacrifices. Now when we discuss the Vedic *mantra*s, their *Śrauta* applications only are remembered. This is because the *Anukramaṇi*s and commentators like Sāyaṇa have done so. Their application in the prevalent *Gṛhya* rites and those prescribed in the Epics, Purāṇas and Dharmaśāstra works like *pūjā*s, *vrata*s and expiatory rites are neglected. It may sound curious, but it is a fact, that Vedic *mantra*s are used by the Tāntrikas in such rites as the purification of meat, fish etc. How long should these non-*Śrauta* Vedic elements wait for a critical study? Needless to say that the rites in question are also decaying and the *Paddhati*s are becoming rare. I think, it is high time that a study was undertaken to assess the part being played by the Vedas in the present day non-*Śrauta* rituals.

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1 From the Presidential Address, Religion and Philosophy Section, AIOC, Ujjain Session, 1972.

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We are told that a study of the Epics and Purāṇas contribute to our knowledge of the Vedas. It is true to some extent. But these texts have their own importance. In the later Vedic society birth alone was the criterion of social position. But in the *Mahābhārata* (vide the *Yakṣapraśna*, *Ājagaraparvan* and the *Bhagavadgītā*) we read that division of the *varṇa*s depended on personal virtues and avocations. The Buddhist and Jaina texts like the *Visuddhimaggo*, *Dhammapada* and the *Uttarādhyayanasūtra* corroborate it. The Buddha and Ṛṣabhanātha have been accepted as an incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu and a devout Vaiṣṇava respectively in the Purāṇas. In fact, there was always a give and take between the later Hinduism on the one hand and Buddhism and Jainism—the two protestant offshoots of the Vedic religion, on the other. The differences have been magnified to the neglect of the underlying unity. Comparison and contrast are progressively revealing the true nature of the post-Vedic Indian Culture. The Hindu Purāṇas have given us a special form of worship—offering to the images of the deities in the temples, articles like flower and foliage, sandal paste and food. This was unknown to the Vedic Indian who offered oblation to the fire on simple altars.

The Purāṇas along with the Dharmaśāstra works largely govern the Hindu life of today. The *vrata*s we perform, the penances we undergo and the feasts and festivities that punctuate the Hindu year are mostly enjoined by them. It is very encouraging to note that the epic and Purāṇic studies are receiving adequate attention. The contributions of Poona, Baroda and Vārāṇasī are too well-known to be repeated here. It would have been very nice if the critical editions of the *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāna*s undertaken by the Mithila Research Institute and the Gujarat Vidyā Sabhā respectively could see the light at an early date. Obviously the vast field warrants the services of more institutions and a larger team of scholars in it.

In the field of Dharmaśāstra much work remains to be done. The *Dharmaśāstranibandha*s offer invaluable materials for our religious and social history. Every part of the country has produced *Nibandhas* and follows some of them even now. In Bengal people follow Śūlapāṇi and Raghunandana. In Mithilā dozens of *Nibandha* works are available among whom the works of Rudradhara, Caṇḍeśvara and Vācaspati II are most popular. Those forgotten but available in manuscripts deserve careful study.

The Tantras or Āgamas present the third great aspect of Hinduism. A devout Hindu receives the Tāntric initiation along with the Vedic and Purāṇic ones. The Vedic worship is limited among the twice-born. The Purānic one is open to the Śūdras also. But even the Caṇḍāla has his own place in the Tāntric religion. There are different Tantra schools—the Śaiva, Śākta and Vaiṣṇava ones being prominent. They also prescribe image worship. Here

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japa, tarpaṇa, balidāna, yantrapūjā and *havana* are enjoined, though the last one is much different in nature from its Vedic counterpart. The Tāntric religion has faced much unmerited attack since long. And in spite of the labours of scholars like Sir John Woodroffe and others much improvement is not noticed in the general attitude towards it. Some good studies in the Tantras, their Religion and Philosophy including those of Mahāmahopādhyāya Gopinath Kaviraja and Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti, have recently been published and we may hope that these appraisals will draw more *uttarasādhaka*s in the field of Tāntric studies. The importance of the Buddhist Tantras in the study of our Āgamas should not be lost sight of. Much of the Tāntric language appears meaningless or positively obnoxious to a common reader. Authorities like Candrakīrti (6th century A.D.) show that only a portion of the Tāntric language conforms to the literal meaning—*yathāruta*. Mostly the passages are enigmatic in character. They are technically called *neyārtha* and *sandhyābhāṣa* requiring deep erudition and traditional instruction to arrive at the proper import.

The cults of Jātāpahāriṇī, Vanadurgā, Raṇayakṣiṇī, Kālārkarudra, Dakṣiṇarāya and others in Bengal are associated with the Tāntric religion. The worship of deities like Satyapīra and Mānikpīra is current among the Hindus and non-Hindus alike. The fast decaying popular cults, feasts and festivities all over the country are also part and parcel of our religious life and as such require proper attention from scholars.

Diversity is discernible in almost every aspect of Hinduism. But there were master-minds in different epochs who attempted at synthesis also. In the Vedic age itself we hear of *ekam sat* to which the learned attributed different names and forms. The *Brahmavāda* of the Vedānta dissolved the difference between 'you' and 'me'. The great Ācārya Śaṅkara effected a grand synthesis in the fields of religion and philosophy and gave a new leadership to the society, the influence of which is felt even today. I may add one more instance here. Kashmir under king Śaṅkaravarman (885-902) became a field for religious strifes. To cope with them Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, his minister, propounded the theory of *Sarvāgamaprāmāṇya*. It has been touched in his *Nyāyamañjarī* and elaborated in the *Āgamaḍambaranāṭaka*, in which a Buddhist, a Jaina, a Mīmāṃsaka, a logician, a Pāśupata and a Cārvāka are the characters, each differing from the rest in his outlook. The author presents their mutual differences along with the respective strength and weakness of each. The conclusion shows that all the Āgamas current since long should be treated as authoritative and the minor differences overlooked.

The principle of religious toleration is nothing new in this ancient land of ours. The Vedas, Upaniṣads, Epics, and Purāṇas enunciate it. Poets like Kālidāsa, Puṣpadanta and Jayanta advocate it. And we find it translated in the lives of the great sons and daughters of India.

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II

The problems of Indian Philosophy may broadly be divided into textual, exegetical and historical ones.

(a) The available texts of the Philosophical *sūtra*s are far from satisfactory. Sometimes genuine *sūtra*s have been omitted and sentences from commentaries have been accepted as *sūtra*s. The readings have often been vitiated. Vācaspatimiśra in the tenth century A.D. felt the necessity of fixing up the number of the *Nyāyasūtra*s and counting the words and syllables in them in his *Nyāyasūcīnibandha*. But we find him incorporating one *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* (*anekadravyasamavāyād rūpaviśeṣāc ca rūpopalabdhiḥ, IX. i. 8*) in it by mistake. Vācaspati II (C 1480-1590 A.D.) in his *Nyāyasūtroddhāra* agrees here with his predecessor. But commentators like Keśavamiśra, Vāgīśvara, Viśvanātha, Vaṃśadhara and Rādhāmohana reject it from their *Nyāyasūtra* texts. Rādhāmohana on the other hand adds a concluding *sūtra* like *tattvaṃ tu bādarāyaṇāt* to the Nyāyadarśana. It seeks to say that the *tattva* (reality) should be learnt from Bādarāyaṇa alone. The authenticity of this *sūtra* has been doubted for want of corroboration from other sources. Besides no Naiyāyika would accept that all the teachings of Akṣapāda are *a-tattva*——unreal i.e. apparently true.

The case of the Vaiśeṣikadarśana is comparatively worse. No Vācaspati ever attempted to edit it. And unlike the *Nyāyasūtra*s all its ancient commentaries are lost. The *Sūtrapāṭha* of Śaṅkaramiśra current among the seminaries for centuries is not always dependable. Śaṅkara accepted some non-*sūtra*s as *sūtra*s. And *sūtra*s accepted as such by Praśastapāda, Vyomaśiva, Śrīdhara and Udayana are omitted in his text. Fortunately the *Vṛttis* of Candrānanda, Bhaṭṭa Vādīndra and of an anonymous author who wrote under Ballālasena of Bengal have recently come to light along with some manuscripts giving a better *sūtrapāṭha*. Besides, individual *Vaiśesikasūtra*s are found extensively quoted, explained and criticized in works of other systems.

Svāmī Kevalānanda Sarasvatī and Svāmī Cidghanānanda prepared good editions of the *sūtra*-texts of the Pūrva° and Uttaramīmāṃsādarśanas on the basis of the extant commentaries.

Now what is required is to prepare critical editions of all philosophical texts on the basis of the available materials——manuscripts, commentaries, digests, references and quotations. The texts thus prepared will bring us nearer to the original position and spurious matter in them will stand self-condemned.

(b) Once the texts of the *sūtra*s are fixed, it will be easy to enter into the exegetical problem. There are commentaries on each system which at times widely differ from one another. The Vedāntadarśana is the richest in respect of its commentary literature. Here each commentator holds that he alone represents

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Bādarāyṇa's views. The position of the Nyāyadarśana may not be so difficult. But it also has its own problems. The interpretation of Vātsyāyana and his followers is deeply influenced by the Vaiśeṣika views. Bhāsarvajña wanted to divest Nyāya from the Vaiśeṣika leanings. Among the authors of the current *Vṛttis* on the *Vaiśeṣikasūtras*, Śaṅkaramiśra and his followers are influenced by Neo-logic, Candrakānta by Śāṅkara Vedānta, Virarāghava by Pūrvamīmāṃsā and Gaṅgādhara by Vaidyaka and Sāṃkhya views. Then there are the Bhāṭṭa and Prābhākara schools of interpretation of the Uttaramīmāṃsā vitally differing from each other. Now one may very legitimately question—are all the divergent explanations intended by the respective *Sūtrakāras* ? A positive reply will lead to absurdity. Then what should be the method to arrive at the original position ? Certainly the question is very difficult. But it does not totally defy solution. The rules of interpretation propounded by the Mīmāṃsādarśana may be useful in the comparison and contrast of the conflicting views. The ancient *Tantrayuktis*, evolved for the composition and elucidation of the *sūtras* and largely utilized in the medical texts of Caraka, Suśruta and Vāgbhaṭa as well as in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, may be highly useful in this connection. With the growth of commentaries these *yuktis* were gradually forgotten though we find their limited use in the *Nyāyabhāṣya*, *Nyāyavārttika*, *Tātparyaṭikā*, *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa*, *Yuktidīpikā* and the *Sāṃkhyatattvakaumudī*. It meant sacrifice of the critical faculty and implicit faith in later expositions inviting wide gaps among sub-schools. The dictum *sūtreṣv eva hi tat sarvaṃ yad bhāṣye yac ca vārttike* is not absolutely correct. In fact, each school or sub-school has grown along a definite line. And historical necessity played a considerable part in this growth particularly in the post-*sūtra* period. We should not read Śaṅkara's ideas in Bādarāyaṇa nor Vātsyāyana's in Akṣapāda. If we do so, we misread Bādarāyaṇa and Akṣapāda and deny Śaṅkara and Vātsyāyana what is legitimately theirs.

The question of ascertaining the import of texts was before the scholars even in the remote past. The science of *Nirukta* was invented to answer this need. Yāska tells us that direct knowledge may be replaced by reasoning in this matter. We may have faith in him when he says *yad eva kincā 'nucāno 'bhyūhati ārṣam tad bhavati* and apply the critical methods in solving the exegetical problems.

(c) History of Indian Philosophy has been written by great scholars. But their works are mostly based on texts current through tradition. Those available in manuscripts and known through references and quotations received scant attention. The major systems received treatment and the minor ones were casually touched upon. Again the systems were taken as self-sufficient to the comparative neglect of their mutual relation. Big gaps had to be allowed to remain as adequate materials to fill them up were wanting.

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The discovery of the Buddhist manuscripts in Tibet by Mahāpaṇḍita Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana has presented the works of Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Dharmakīrti, Prajñākara, Karṇakagomin, Durvekamiśra, Jñānaśrīmitra and Ratnakīrti all of whom were very closely connected with the Nyāya system offering the *pūrvapakṣa* to the Naiyāyika. They introduce a host of Nyāya authors including Śaṅkara, Trilocana, Bhūṣaṇakāra Viśvarūpa, Vittoka, Narasiṃha and Śatānanda with copious quotations from their works. It shows the important position these forgotten logicians once held. We now hear that there were no fewer than four sub-commentaries on the *Nyāyabhāṣya* besides the *Nyāyavārttika* of Uddyotakara. A relation between Jayanta Bhaṭṭa and Vācaspati has been disproved by Jñānaśrīmitra's assertion that Trilocana, Vācaspati's preceptor had a *Nyāyamañjarī* to his credit and that it was this author to whom the *Nyāyakaṇikā* pays respects. The discovery of the Buddhist works has helped us to better understand the known texts also. The searches for manuscripts and their publications in the post-independence era have also borne rich fruits. We now have the Nyāyadarśana with the four major commentaries from several old and untapped sources. Sānātanī, a pre-Vācaspati Nyāya-commentator from Gauḍa has been refuted by Udayana in his *Pariśuddhi*. Sānātani's work was known to Vardhamāna and Śaṅkaramiśra. Udayana quotes another Nyāya-commentator, Śrīvatsa by name who seems to be post-Vācaspati in date. The last four chapters of the long forgotten *Vivaraṇapañjikā* of Aniruddha also referred to by Udayana and Rudra Tarkavāgīśa have now been published. The *Lakṣaṇamālā* of Udayana offering the definitions of the Nyāya categories has been identified. Its comparison with the *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya* justifies the supposed antagonism of Śrīharṣa to this Ācārya. The *Nyāyaṭippaṇaka* of Śrīkaṇṭha and the *Nyāyālaṃkāra* of Abhayatilaka, so long known only in name, are now under the process of publication. Beside these the several *Nyāyavṛttis* including those of Vācaspati II, Keśava, Vāgīśvara, Jānakīnātha, Rāmabhadra, Mathurānātha and Vaṃśadhara have now been traced and studied. They offer the results of fresh researches in the field of logic in later centuries and add to our knowledge about the contributions of less known and quite unknown logicians.

The discovery and publication of the *Nyāyamañjarīgranthibhaṅga* by Cakradhara is also a welcome event. The *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa*, an auto-commentary on the *Nyāyasāra* of Bhāsarvajña was almost lost to us. Decades back, I brought together the available fragments from it. The publication of this important text and some more commentaries on the *Nyāyasāra* has justified the claim of postulating a medieval school of Indian logic beside the old and new ones. We soon expect the publication of the much talked of *Nyāyasāravicāra* of Bhaṭṭa Rāghava also. We hear of the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇabhūṣaṇa* of Vāsudeva and the *Bhūṣaṇaṭīkā* of some Gadādhara.

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Neo-logic has of late attracted the notice of modern scholars in India and abroad. Gaṅgeśa was so far considered the propounder of it. The publication of the *Nyāyaratna* of Maṇikaṇṭha has disproved this. In fact Udayana, the last great exponent of the old-school was also the pioneer of the new one. Gaṅgeśa elaborated and sometimes summed up what he received from his predecessors. We are now in a position to say that the oft-quoted but long lost *Ratnakoṣa* of Taraṇimiśra is not a Vaiśeṣika work as suggested. It was a commentary on the Nyāyadarśana as many of the quotations directly relate to the *Nyāyasūtras*. For centuries the study of the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* has been based on the commentaries and sub-commentaries of the Bengal school. It will be in the fitness of things to take up the study and publication of the works of the Maithila masters like Yajñapati, Pakṣadhara, Madhusūdana, Rucidatta and Gokulanātha. MM. Dr. Gopinatha Kaviraja and the late Prof. D. C. Bhattacharya have presented us with highly learned historical studies in Indian logic. It would be worth-while to take up similar regional accounts in other branches of Indian thought also. The studies by Drs. Frauwallner, J. B. Bhattacharya, T. S. Bhattacharya, D. Malvania, S. Bagchi, Ingalls, Oberhammer, Potter, Steinkellner, Schmithausen, Halbfass, Vetter, Warder, Kajiyama, Hattori, V. Varadacari, S. K. Sharma, J. S. Jetly, E. Solomon, D. Sarma, G. Champarathi, H. C. Joshi, K. K. Diksit, N. D. Shah, G. M. Bhattacharya, B. Gupta, B. K. Motilal, D. P. Chattopadhyaya, M. K. Ganguli, Srinarayan Misra, Kishoranath Jha and others have enriched our knowledge of Indian Logic in recent years. We may expect much more from them in the years to come.

In the field of the Vaiśeṣika Philosophy, which hardly received any independent treatment from the historian, we now hear of an ancient *Vaiśeṣikavārttika* called the *Vākya*, the *Bhāṣya*s of Rāvaṇa and Ātreya, the commentary called *Kaṭandī*, which according to Cakradhara was also a *Bhāṣya*, and the *Bhāṣyaṭīkā* of Praśastamati, who must be identical with Praśastapāda, author of the extant *Padārthadharmasaṅgraha*. This *Saṅgraha* was wrongly accepted as a *Vaiśeṣika bhāṣya* by many in spite of Udayana's assertion to the contrary. Śālikanātha from Bengal shows partiality towards the Vaiśeṣika system through quotations of *Vaiśeṣikasūtra*s and exposition thereof in his Mīmāṃsā works. Cannibhaṭṭa of the Vijayanagara court quotes Śālika's *Padārthadharmasaṅgrahaṭīkā*. Śālikanātha preceded Vācaspatimiśra. It was Udayana, a successor of Vācaspati, who seriously took up the Vaiśeṣika studies in Mithila and we find him criticizing the Vaiśeṣika views of Śālikanātha along with those of Śrīdharācārya, the author of the *Nyāyakandalī* also hailing from Bengal. Udayana's *Kiraṇāvalī*, though incomplete, was accepted all over the country to the comparative neglect of the earlier commentaries on the *Padārthadharmasaṅgraha*. Śālikanātha's work was forgotten and Śrīdhara's *Nyāyakandalī* found shelter in far off places like Gujarat and Kashmir. In the Baroda edition

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of the *Kiraṇāvalī*, Dr. Jetly has added a further section of the text not so far known to the sub-commentators and scholars. The discovery of the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* commentaries by Candrānanda and Bhaṭṭa Vādīndra (short and long versions) has presented fresh materials for consideration of the historian.

In the Mīmāṃsā system also gaps do exist. We hear of a *Mīmāṃsānirahodadhi* from Jñānaśrīmitra. Śrīkṛṣṇamiśra, Durvekamiśra and others also refer to him. Śrīkṛṣṇamiśra speaks of the *Māhāvratī* of Mahāvrata, a pre-Udayana Bhāṭṭa author. It has now been accepted that Kumārila had one *Bṛhaṭṭīkā* on the *Mīmāṃsābhāṣya* over and above the *Ślokavārttika*, *Tantravārttika* and the *Ṭupṭīkā*. The verses attributed to Kumārila by Kamalaśīla and others, not traceable in his extant works must have survived from some such lost work or works. Śālikanātha's works show that the Prābhākaras had a stronghold in Northern India. This is attested by Śaṅkhadhara (cf. *rāḍhīyair ātiharṣagadgadagalaiḥ prābhākaraḥ paṭhyate—Laṭakamelakaprahasana*) and Gaṅgeśopādhyāya draws many of his *pūrvapakṣas* from the Prābhākaras like Vaṭeśvara, whose *Mīmāṃsāmahārṇava* is known through quotations. We now have the *Nyāyaratnākara* of Candra (of Poṣali in Rāḍhā) partly in print and his *Amṛtabindu* in manuscripts. Prābhākara traits in the *Dharmaśāstranibandhas* of Bengal also deserve consideration here.

Maṇḍana, the great exponent of the Bhāṭṭa school is said to be a disciple of Kumārila and is identified with Sureśvara, the Vedāntin. We again hear that he was converted to Vedāntic monism as a consequence of his defeat in a dispute with Śaṅkarācārya and became his disciple. These require serious attention. We find Maṇḍana referring to Kumārila as '*mīmāṃsakammanya*' which is unbecoming of a disciple. Again Sureśvara refutes the views of Maṇḍana precluding the proposed identity. Maṇḍana's vedāntic views widely differ from those of the Śāṅkara school. Vācaspati largely follows Maṇḍana even in his subcommentary on the *Śāṅkarabhāṣya*. All these tend to support that Maṇḍana was an Easterner as the *Śaṅkaravijaya* suggests. The *Tautātikamatatilaka* of Bhavadeva and the long lost *Tattvaprabodha* of Śrīdharācārya along with the works of Sucarita, Pārthasārathi and others point out to serious Bhāṭṭa studies in the then Mithila and Bengal.

The relation among the Yoga schools—the Pāśupata, Pātañjala, Vāśiṣṭha, Buddhist and Jaina ones requires comparison and contrast. Curiously enough the *Nyāyabhāṣya* refers to the 'yogas' who advocated the *asatkāryavāda* theory—*asad utpadyate utpannaṃ nirudhyate iti yogānām* (*Nyāyabhāṣya*, I. i. 29). The Nyāya and the Vaiśeṣika are advocates of the *asatkārya* theory which is attributed to some 'yogas' here. The epithet '*yoga*' and '*yauga*' are used for the Naiyāyikas or the Vaiśeṣikas or for both. In the present context also it seems to stand for both the Naiyāyikas and Vaiśeṣikas because of their affiliation to

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the Pāśupatayoga. This incidentally disproves the assumption that Kauṭilya did not include the Nyāya in his classification of *ānvīkṣikī* (*—sāṃkhyaṃ yogo lokāyatam ce 'tyā 'nvīkṣikī*). Here the expression Sāṃkhya, in all probability includes the system of Patañjali also. It is known as *Seśvarasāṃkhya* as opposed to the *Nirīśvarasāṃkhya* of Kapila.

The Sāṅkhya has been deep-rooted in our culture since time immemorial. Unfortunately most of its representative works are lost. Authors like Mādhava are known only through references. It is a happy news that Dr. E. Solomon has just edited two ancient commentaries on the *Sāṃkhyakārikā*.

If we pursue the origin and development of any one of our major philosophical systems, we will find that other systems have sufficiently contributed to its growth. Tenets of other systems have been utilized by way of support to one's own position. In case of difference, they have been criticized too. This criticism has mostly been destructive in the Cārvāka, Buddhist and the Śāṅkara Vedānta schools and they are called *Khāṇḍanika*s. The Nyāya presents a double-edged *Vādaśāstra* with constructive and destructive aspects. When destructive, it often takes recourse to questionable means to preserve the purity of the end. Thus we hear—*tattvādhyavasāyasaṃrakṣaṇārthaṃ jalpa-vitaṇḍe kaṇṭakaśākhāvaraṇavat*—(N. S. IV. ii 50). Now due to the inter-relation among the systems a student of one requires to learn the tenets of others. This *paratantrāvalokana* has been regarded as an essential factor to learn one's own tenets. It is in this sense that Indian philosophy is one in spite of the divergences among its constituents.

The work so far done by our *pūrvasūri*s in the field of Religion and Philosophy should guide us in our own *Sādhanā*. And though the final touch is not within the range of our view we may devoutly go on tracing out the missing links and clearing the debris accumulated through centuries.

In recent times in spite of a set-back in the study of Indian Philosophy and Religion in the traditional *Catuṣpāṭhī*s and *Pāṭhaśālā*s different centres have been established in India and abroad for their cultivation. Special mention should be made of those in Harvard, Vienna, Toronto and Tokyo. The welcome scheme for the Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies is making steady progress towards a successful completion and the day should not be far away when a comprehensive History of Indian Religion and Philosophy will engage our attention.

॥ *namaś śāstrakṛdbhyaś śā'strebhyaś śāstravidbhyaś ca* ॥

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GAJA-THARA—A 'LOST' MOTIF

By

MADHUKAR S. MATE, Poona

Sculptural ornament has become such an integral part of Indian temple architecture that it is difficult to think of it without reference to architecture. In fact, sculpture, in clay, stucco, wood or stone has little independent existence in Indian art. Till the introduction of illustrative paintings for manuscripts the same was true of the art of painting as well. This association was beneficial to both these arts, in as much as it secured a well-thought out and permanent background for them. Conversely, they provided a variety of delicate ornament to the massive temple structures and helped in the general artistic effect by bringing about a charming play of light and shade. This interdependence and unity have, however, obscured some of the original concepts behind particular motifs. It has hidden the inspirations and thought processes that led to the evolution of the final form with which most of us are acquainted. Here an attempt is made to go behind the facade and search out the genesis of a very graceful sculptural motif universally employed in Indian art—the *Gaja-thara*.

The *gaja-thara* was, in the case of the temples of the early medieval period, one of the indispensible mouldings of the plinth, It was a row of elephants. The *Vāstu-Śāstra*s of even date lay down a strict sequence of the mouldings that were to decorate the plinth. How was the scheme evolved ? The ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries of the Christian Era witnessed a remarkable upsurge in the temple-building activity in most of the regions of India. Some of the finest and most celebrated *prāsāda*s belong to this period. Many of the *Vāstu-Śāstras* acquired their final form in this very age. It would be proper, therefore, to look to these temples for some of the more mature versions of the entire scheme of the plinth and more especially of the *gaja-thara*. The sequence laid down by the texts was : bottom upwards, *gaja-thara*, *aśva-thara* and *nara-thara*. The temples of Gujarat and Karnatak appear to have followed the precept fairly closely.

The Hoyasala temples display exquisite *gaja-tharas*. Like every other plastic motif the elephants and their trappings are carved in minute detail. The chains, the small bells, the long, flowing '*jhool*', are very realistically carved. The elephants are shown sideways—i.e. in profile, a row of half a dozen or more of the animals following each other. The majesty of their gait is rendered in a most convincing manner. Temples in Gujarat present the *gaja-thara* in a slightly different manner. Here the animals are depicted frontally. Their forelegs, the massive forehead and the swaying trunks project forth from the matrix. To

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some extent these would appear to be less artistic than the Hoyasala ones, for there is little scope for any movement and the grace consequent on it. But, as would be shown below, the Gujarat '*tharas*' are more faithful to tradition. This tradition has to be traced back through extant monuments. Travelling backwards in time, notice can be taken of a few of the more significant representations.

The most noteworthy monument in this respect is the Kailāsa temple at Ellora. It antidates the two groups mentioned above by two to three centuries. Generically it belongs to the class known as 'rock-cut' architecture which has deep affinities with early Indian art. This fact cannot be over-emphasised. The *gaja-thara* of Kailāsa is a full-size or life-size affair, being about ten feet in height. As such it forms the ground storey if not in form at least in substance. Like the Gujarat temples the brutes are frontally represented. Many are badly mutilated but their massive dignity is unmistakable. Robust, almost pillar-like forelegs and huge fore-heads are visible in many cases even today.

Next to be considered is the caitya at Karle. Here the elephants have no position on the facade proper, but are carved on the walls flanking it. These are large-sized creatures, although smaller than the Ellora ones. They also support a huge, multi-storeyed, although simulated structure.

But it is the Pitalkhora example that is more revealing. Life-size figures of fully caparisoned elephants chaperoned by stout *mahuts* form the ground storey of a Cave. There are in all nine animals. Between each is a figure of a dressed up *mahut* carrying the goad. Here again the representation is frontal. To-day only the round, column-like forelegs are extant. Their appearance to-day, is not unlike a row of stout circular columns. However, this effect is accidental—arising more out of distortion due to damage to the figures than out of intention. For, one can never forget that in between would appear the swaying trunks, perhaps holding a bunch of leaves in the lower ends would also be occupying their original position. These two if restored mentally, with the help of the ruins discovered at the site, lead to conclusions much different than would be otherwise drawn. At first sight it would appear, especially when the Ellora example is reflected back, that the intention of the artist was to create the illusion of a structure carried on the backs of these giant animals. The Karle figures would tend to support the idea and the Pitalkhora example would apparently clinch it. But a little more investigation would make it clear that this was not the intention of the artist at all.

The first point to be considered is the aesthetics of the scheme. The proportions of the superstructure and the lower storey would not brook of such an idea. The former is far too large than the latter. The ground storey or the elephant figures constituting it would stand (visually) oppressed beneath the

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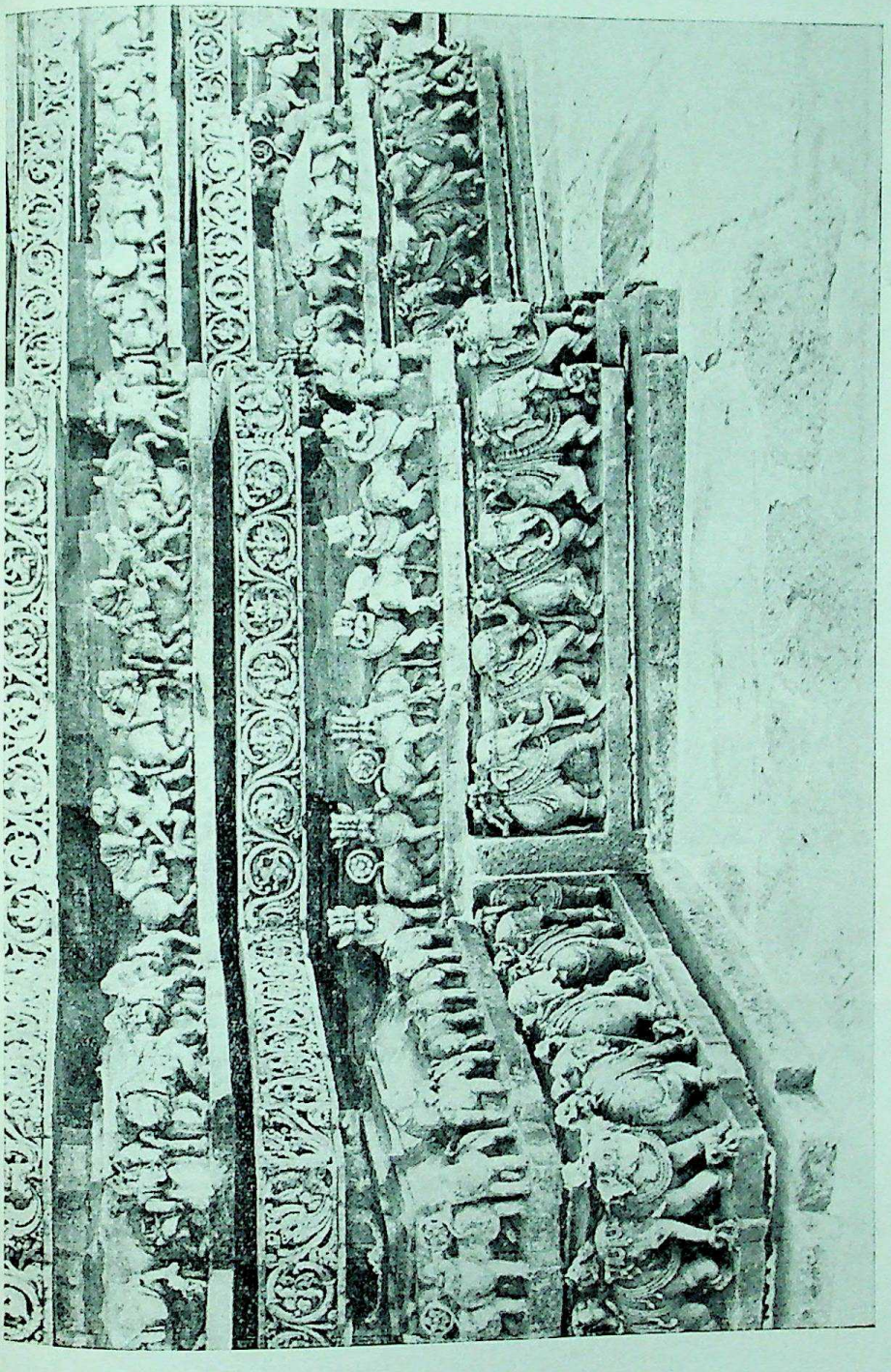

Fig. 1

Halebid : Gajadhara from Hoysaleshvara temple
(Courtesy : American Institute of Indian Studies)

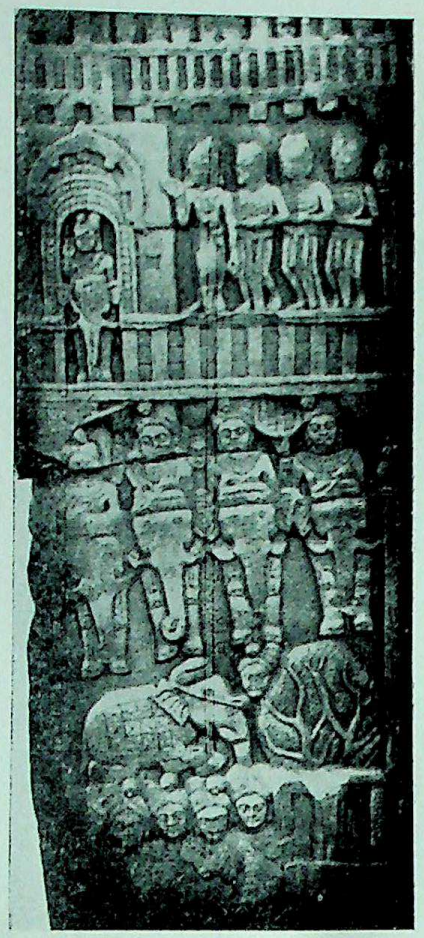

Fig. 5
Barhut : Detail of Prasenajit Pillar
(Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India)

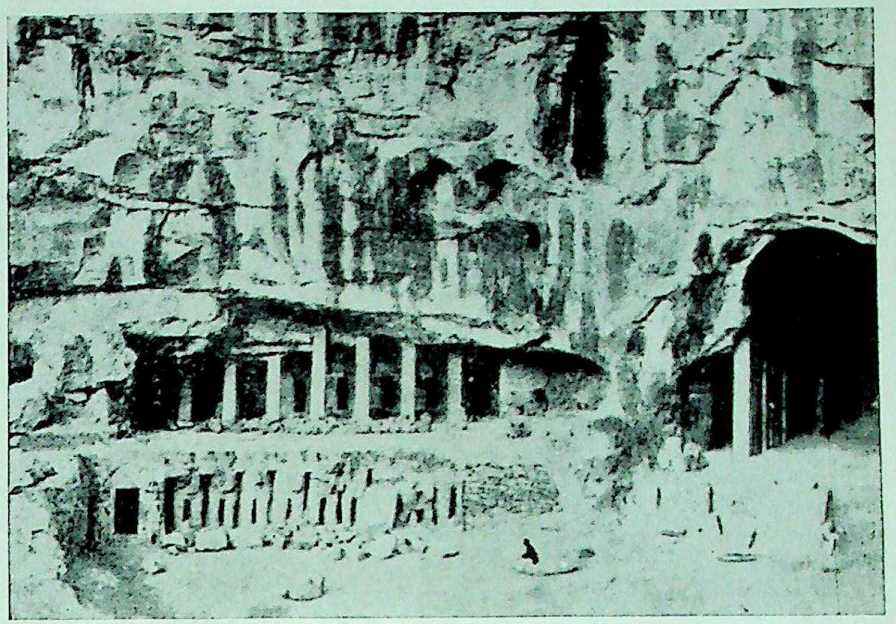

Fig. 2
Pitalkhora : General view showing both storeys [Caves 3 and 4]
(Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India)

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Fig. 3
Pitalkhora : Elephants on the Lower Storey (Cave 4)
(Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India)

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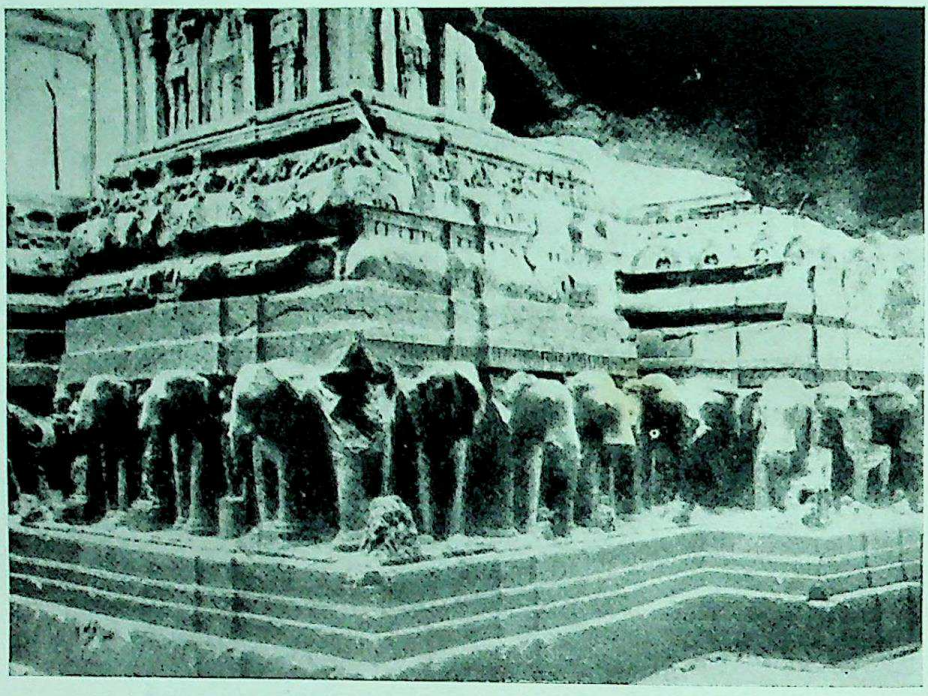

Fig. 4
Ellora : Lower Storey Kailas Temple
(Courtesy : Deccan College, Poona)

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upper part. Such a visual effect is hardly likely to be the intention of people who were so very sensitive to the effect of the motifs they were employing. Such a major miscalculation or indiscretion is unlikely in the extreme. If that be so, the aim of introducing the elephants must be sought for somewhere else.

Like everything else the ancient texts on *Vāstu-śāstras* tell what is to be done but are silent as to why it is to be done in that particular manner. If at all they go out of the way, they would offer some mystic or astronomical explanation but never aesthetic or historical. It therefore becomes useless to seek assistance from this source.

A small frame from the profuse sculptures at Barhut affords a clue towards an explanation. The frieze under reference is known as a depiction of 'Rudra-brahman visiting the Buddha' on his enlightenment and forms part of the celebrated 'Prasenjit' pillar. It consists of some very illuminating elements. The lower-most part has the depiction of a caitya tree with a railing around it. There are a few people in front of it. An elephant kneels in front of the tree and the head of the *mahut* is seen between the elephant and the tree. Above this is a row of four elephants frontally carved. Each has a rider on it, is well caparisoned and the forelegs and the trunk are an independent entity with each. Above this row is a building, presumably a palace. There is a *vedikā* all along the facade pierced by a gate covered by a huge *gopura* through which emerges an elephant with a rider. Above the railing is a row of four individuals three of whom hold baskets of fruit or some such object. Still higher up, above the top of the *gopura* and the heads of the worshippers is a gallery from which some individuals peep down. The entire palace (or mansion) is supported on either side by pilasters with flaring brackets and 'bell' capitals. Whatever the iconographic significance of the scene described above, it is of little relevance for the present discussion; it is the method of presentation that needs be looked into. It is a well-known fact that early Indian art did not accept visual perspective representation in its modern sense. Not that they were unawares of the third dimension—examples of foreshortening are known, but in general the practice was to depict the scene in what is sometimes called 'vertical perspective'. That is, the objects away from the plane of the matrix are not hidden by those in their front, nor is there a proportionate decrease in size. Instead, they are shown one above the other. The objects nearer to the viewer are below, the ones distant from him are on top of the nearer ones. In this particular instance then, the relationship of the relevant elements in the composition appears to be : in the distance a mansion; in the courtyard in its front, a row of worshippers; in their front the *vedikā* with the *gopura*, in front of this a row of elephants. The plastic representation gives the visual effect of all of these being one above the other in that sequence. The elephants do appear to support the mansion on their backs. It is not the case, nor is it the intention of the artist but that is the effect. In this

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case it is unconsciously achieved. Is it likely that some imaginative artist took his cue from this and attempted to translate in stone a real palace scene where in front of the royal palace stood a galaxy of caparisoned elephants? It is a picture of royal opulence so dear to Indian monarchs. It is as if royalty was wedded to this giant animal. Writings of early foreign authors refer to this 'wealth' of various Indian kings. Buddhist and Jaina literature also abounds in such descriptions. Later literature—mainly Sanskrit—cannot think of royal palaces, processions without the majestically trodding '*Gaja*'. The religious establishments also strived to own this symbol of magnificance. Even today almost every temple in South India has a flock of elephants. It appears that for the *Ājīvaka*s or Buddhists of the early times it was not easy to maintain a fleet of elephants but some establishments might have owned them. The Pitalkhora facade seems to be an attempt on the part of some imaginative artist to compress reality into an architectural and then sculptural motif. One could well visualize the picture of a massive structural *vihāra* in front of which stood a row of elephants chaperoned by *mahut*s, caparisoned with all sorts of furniture and ornaments, gaily swaying their trunks from side to side. Animals in pairs or moving in isolation have also found a place in many of the rock-cut *vihāra*s of the early period, especially in Orissa. And if it could not happen in real life, what would hold back the sculptor from depicting it in stone? This was a transformation of reality; or of a fancy based on reality into a concrete sculptural form. It was one more 'make-believe' that the artist's imagination could devise. Instead of being placed one in front of the other the various elements were put one on top of the other and then in due course their size was reduced to such an extent that original concept was lost sight of. The *gaja-thara* comes into existence.

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VĀSUDEVA SĀRVABHAUMA—THE NAIYĀYIKA*

By

GOPIKA MOHAN BHATTACHARYA, Kurukshetra

Vāsudeva (C. 1430-1530 A.D.) is known to be the teacher of Raghunātha Śiromaṇi, the astute logician of sixteenth century. Vāsudeva's name is also associated with Caitanya and most of the biographers of Caitanya are eloquent on the historic debate between them at Puri when Caitanya went there on his religious mission. On the evidence of Jayānanda it is ascertained that Vāsudeva, the founder of *Navya-nyāya* tradition in Bengal, left Navadvīpa, the centre of learning, being oppressed by the Muslim ruler and settled at Puri as a Court Paṇḍit of Pratāparudra while his brother migrated to Banāras.[1] But in his early life he founded a school at Navadvīpa, established his name as a logician and tradition says that Raghunātha, his pupil, completely overshadowed him by his trenchant logic and overwhelming popularity. Raghunātha, as usual, never mentions the name of his teachers, but a study of Raghunātha's commentary on *Tattvacintāmaṇi* (*TC*) of Gaṅgeśa shows that he was to a great extent influenced by Vāsudeva. On a number of occasions he quotes Vāsudeva, although he does not mention his name. The commentators such as Jagadīśa, Gadādhara etc. testify them to be the opinions of Vāsudeva. D. C. Bhattacharya tried to identify some of the opinions attributed to Vāsudeva by the commentators, in an incomplete manuscript of a commentary of the *anumāna* portion of *TC* and the ms., although lacks in beginning and colophon, are accepted by MM. Gopinātha Kavirāja[2] and D. C. Bhattacharya[3] as the work of Vāsudeva. I have undertaken a critical edition of this hitherto unpublished work and my preliminary study of the ms. reveals the following facts about Vāsudeva's originality as a logician, his method and critical insight.

The section called *vyāptipañcaka* in *TC* contains five definitions of pervasion (*vyāpti*) prevalent during Gaṅgeśa's period. Gaṅgeśa records them and

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* This article was received for the Silver Jubilee volume (XXV, 3-4) but could not be incorporated therein. The editor is grateful to the author for his kind response.

1 Vide, *Caitanyamaṅgala, Utkalakhaṇḍa.* Jayānanda (1550 A.D.) was a young man of 20 years when Caitanya left his human form and hence had ample opportunity of observing the socio-political conditions of Bengal. According to Jayānanda, the muslims of Piralya, a village near Navadvīpa incited the king Hussain Shah of Bengal against the Brahmins of Navadvīpa, as a result of which the King oppressed the Brahmins of that city and Vāsudeva had to flee to Orissa out of fear of torture.

That famine broke just before the birth of Caitanya is also corroborated by *Caitanabhāgavata* of Vṛndāvanadāsa. Vāsudeva passed the last years of his life at Banaras.

2 *Gleanings from the History and Bibliography of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika literature*, Calcutta, 1961.

3 *Vāṅgālir Śārasvat Avadān*, Calcutta.

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finally rejects them on the ground that they do not apply in the case of universal concomitance between two ever present properties (*kevalānvayī*). It is worth noting that no predecessor of Raghunātha has endeavoured to interpret these definitions in detail but rather left only a few occasional remarks, while Raghunātha explains the definitions as a faithful commentator ; and here at least on one occasion he was indebted to Vāsudeva. While explaining the second definition, viz., 'Pervasion is the non-occurrence in the locus of the absence of the probandum, which (i.e. locus) differs from that which the probandum possesses' (*Sādhyavadbhinnasādhyābhāvavadavṛttitvam. TC* p.77.4), Raghunātha seeks to interpret the first part of the definition, i.e. *sādhyavadbhinna*, as qualifying the absence of the probandum. Or, in other words, the definition demands that the probans should not occur in a locus of such an absence of probandum which occurs in a locus, other than that of the probandum. With such a formulation the difficulty involved in the first definition (viz , *sādhyābhāva-vadavṛttitvam*), that it does not apply to cases of incomplete occurrence (*avyāpyavṛtti*) can easily be avoided.

The commentator Kṛṣṇadāsa [4] points out that Raghunātha interprets the definition in such a peculiar way so as to avoid a difficulty raised by Vāsudeva [5]. A study of Vāsudeva's commentory on *TC*[6] reveals that Vāsudeva does not think that the only purpose behind the formulation of def. 2 is to include cases of invariable concomitance where the probandum is of incomplete occurrence. For he thinks that the def. 2 could well serve such purpose without the adjunct '*sādhyābhāva*' (absence of probandum). It seems that Vāsudeva had in his mind the interpretation of the definition as he got it from tradition (not of course from Yajñapati), which considers the first part of the definition, viz. *sādhyavadbhinna*, as qualifying the locus in which the absence of the probandum occurs. Vāsudeva, as the ms. shows, is absolutely silent on the point as to how the charge of superfluity occurs. He only remarks that as the adjunct *sādhyabhāva* is superfluous Def. 2 should be rejected. The commentators on *Dīdhiti* provide us with a satisfactory explanation of superfluity which they ascribe to Vāsudeva.[7] They think that according to Vāsudeva mutual absence (*anyonyābhāva*) is of the nature of complete occurrence (*Vyāpyavṛtti*) and as such when anywhere *sādhyābhāva* occurs, it follows automatically that it is different from that in which the probandum occurs. Conversely if anything is different from that in which the probandum occurs, it follows that in the same locus the absence

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4 Kṛṣṇadāsa, *Anumānadīdhitiprasāriṇī* (*Adp*) P. 40, Cf. also Bhattacharya, *Vāṅgālir Sārasvat avadān*, p. 38.

5 *Ibid.*

6 Saraswati Bhavan Library, Banaras, Ms. No. 185.

7 Kṛṣṇadāsa, *Adp.*, p. 40.

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of the probandum occurs and hence the superfluity of the term *sādhyābhāva* becomes evident.

In the section on *vyadhikaraṇābhāva* (an absence of which the counter-positiveness is limited by a non-concurrent property) Raghunātha refers to fourteen definitions of *Vyāpti* of which two are his own formulations and the rest are attributed to his predecessors, viz., Śrīnātha Cakravartin, Pragalbha, Jayadeva and Vāsudeva. The definition attributed to Vāsudeva by commentators can however be exactly found in the ms. since it was Raghunātha's technique not to quote the opponent as it is, but he was rather fond of referring to it in his own way, i.e., by referring to its clarified version. The earliest of the known commentators of *Dīdhiti* Kṛṣṇadāsa points out this peculiar feature of Raghunātha (*cf. pariṣkurvan*). The Defs. run as follows :

Def. 1. "*Pare tu vṛttimadvṛttayo yāvantaḥ sādhyābhāvavadvṛttitvabhāvās tadvattvam vyāptiḥ*"[8]

Def. 2. "*Anye tu vṛttimadvṛttayo yāvantaḥ sādhyābhāvādhikaraṇa-vṛttitvabhāvās tadvattvam*"[9]

Compare these two definitions with Vāsudeva's :

sādhyābhāvakūṭādhikaraṇavṛttitvabhāvā vṛttimadvṛttayo yāvantas tāvadāśrayatvaṃ vyāptiriti vivakṣaṇāt.

In his explanation of the Def. 2 Raghunātha quotes verbatim a line from Vāsudeva :

tathā ca svavyāpakībhūta-sādhyātavācchedaka-vyāpaka-pratiyogitāko'pi bodhyaḥ. Dīdhiti 206, 3-4

Vās. 3 (Frauwallner, ed. wzksa)

It is to be noted that the definitions attributed to Vāsudeva by commentators occur in the *pūrvapakṣa* section of Vāsudeva.

In his treatment on *vyadhikaraṇābhāva* Vāsudeva, as usual with him, explains and rejects the viewpoints of his predecessors such as Yajñapati, Jayadeva and Rucidatta, none of whose works has yet been published. But a study of the respective mss.[10] shows that Vāsudeva is more faithful in the presentations of the views of his opponents, brings out the logical problems involved in a more lucid manner and I have no hesitation in remarking that his understanding of problems is more accurate than that of any one of his predecessors, although he brings little as his own positive contribution. His criticism of Yajñapati is more vehement and elaborate, as he refers to him at least 52 times

8 Bhavānanda, *Anumānadīdhitiprakāśa*, (BIedn.), p. 196.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 205.

10 See my article, 'Vyadhikaraṇābhāva—a type of negation,' *WZKSO*, 1975.

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in the entire ms., occasionally with sarcastical remarks. He had to take into account Yajñapati more seriously as the latter was the founder of Mithila school of *Navyanyāya* still exerting influence on the neologicians of Mithilā and Vāsudeva wanted to open a school in Bengal and hence tried to assert his influence on the Bengal circle of logicians.

In the *Siddhāntalakṣaṇa* section Raghunātha, while explaining the term *pratiyogi* in the final definition of *vyāpti* in *TC*, introduces the concept of 'limitor' and suggests that here 'Counterpositive' should be taken in its entierty for which we need a universal operator namely the limitor of counterpositiveness. In this connection Raghunātha refers to two original views,[11] attributed by the commentators to Vāsudeva : (a) Bothness (*ubhayatva*) is nothing but the otherness qualified by the one (*ubhayatvam ekaviśiṣṭāparatvam*); (b) a pure entity is different from a qualified entity. Thus, to Vāsudeva 'pure existence' (*śuddha sattā*) is more extensive than 'existence qualified by otherness than quality and action'. To a student of *Navyanyāya* it is a well-known problem and all logicians after Vāsudeva categorically assert the identity of pure entity with qualified entity.[12]

To turn to the nature of 'bothness', Vāsudeva's mention as '*atra kaścit*' shows that before him Nyāya considered 'bothness' as a separate property. In the example, 'the chair and the table both', the predecessors of Vāsudeva, as also his disciple Raghunātha would say that there 'bothness', or for that matter 'duality' (*dvitva*) also, is an attribute which occurs in both the chair and the table through a peculiar relation known as *paryāpti*. But Vāsudeva would explain the above cognition as 'the table qualified by chair'. So in this case 'bothness' = tableness + chairness, and not a separate attribute from 'tableness' cf. *na ca pratyeka-bhinnam ubhayam*. Vās. ms. fol .33.1). Similarly in Vāsudeva's view the 'absence of both table and chair' would amount to the 'absence of table qualified by chair' or *vice-versa*.

With these few introductory remarks I shall now turn to a type of *Navyanyāya* concept of absence to show Vāsudeva's methodology in pursuing a point and his originality. This is the problem of generic absence (*sāmānyābhāva*) vs. specific absence (*viśeṣābhāva*).

At the outset it should be made clear that *Nyāya* rejects any such thing as pure negation.[13] When we speak of an absence it must be an absence of something, which in *Nyāya* technical language is termed as absential counterpositives (*abhāvīyapratiyogī*). Now let us take the following two instances of absence, viz.,

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11 See Kṛṣ., p. 144; Bhav., p. 322; Jagadiśa, p. 222.

12 Bhav., p. 121 (*viśiṣṭasya atiriktatvam iti sārvabhaumamatam*): Cf. also Jāg., pp. 153, 159, 247.

13 Matilal B. K., *The Navyanyāya Doctrine of Negation*, Harvard, 1968, p. 52.

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(a) The cup is not on the table.

(b) The ink-pot is not on the table.

The two absences can be distinguished from each other since the things negated differ. But *Nyāya* holds that even if the counterpositives are identical their absences would be different if, of course, the limitor (*avacchedaka*) of their counterpositiveness differ. In (a) cup-ness, will be such limitor, whereas in (b) ink-pot-ness is the limitor. So in these instances the counterpositive as well as the limitors of counterpositiveness differ and hence the absences also differ. But we may say :

(c) 'Max Müller is absent'

and

(d) 'The author of 'India, what it can teach us', is absent.' In (c) and (d) the things to be negated are the same, but the two absences differ, since the counterpositiveness in (c) is limited by the individual character (*tadvyaktitva*) of the given person i.e. Max Müller, whereas in (d) it is limited by the property of 'being the author of 'India, what it can teach us'. Similarly *Nyāya* differentiates between generic absence and specific absence of a pot. The former is illustrated by

(e) 'There is no pot on the ground' and the latter by

(f) 'There is no blue pot on the ground'.

In these two absences the limitor of the property of being counterpositive differ. In (e) 'pure (*Śuddha*) potness' is the limitor, while in (f) 'blue-pot-ness' is the limitor.

Gaṅgeśa while differentiating between generic and specific absence, states the following argument : We cognize air has neither black, red nor any type of colour *known to us*. Then it becomes inexplicable how, inspite of this, such doubt arises, viz., 'Is there colour in air or not' or 'if air has colour or not'. If absences of all specific colours are held to be identical with the absence of colour as such, emergence of such doubt would be uncalled for.

The necessity of a generic absence distinct from the specific absences or from their collection (*kūṭa*) has cropped up to avoid a difficult situation as follows. Let us consider a valid case of inference, viz. 'The mountain has fire because of smoke'. Now if we consider individual instances of fire, i.e., kitchen fire, mountain fire, we can easily state that in the locus of smoke (i.e. reason), say in the mountain, kitchen fire is absent and in this way individual absences of fire can be shown in any locus of smoke. Thus a valid case of inference would turn out faulty. To avoid this difficult situation *Nyāya* admits a distinct absence called 'generic absence', i.e. absence of fire as a class differentiated from its sepcific absences. In the inference in point such generic absence of fire would

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never be observed in the locus of smoke. In generic absence the counterpositiveness is limited only by its class-character, viz. fireness, whereas in a specific absence, viz. in mountain fire, by mountainness and fireness both. Due to this difference in the nature of limitors, the two absences differ. Generic absence is not a 'logical product' of specific absences but a distinct type of absence.

Now about the doubt 'Is there a colour in air or not' or 'Is air a locus of colour or not', Gaṅgeśa does not add any reason why such doubt exists. Vāsudeva clearly states that the existence of such doubt is admitted on all hands and a fact cannot be ignored so easily. But Vāsudeva does not see eye to eye with the argument of his predecessor Yajñapati, the founder of Mithilā school of *Navyanyāya*, in rejecting the theory of *viśeṣābhāvavādin*, who holds that generic absence is nothing but a combination of specific absences. Yajñapati argues that if generic absence were the logical product of specific absences, we should have the cognition of generic absence of colour in two pots apprehending simultaneously. To be precise, suppose I see two pots on the table, one red, the other blue. Now the two pots have mutually the absence of each colour; in other words, both the pots have specific absences of colour. But for that none would say that both the pots jointly have generic absence of colour. Hence generic absence is not determined by specific absences.

Vāsudeva argues : Two pots jointly are not different from individual pots of which duality consists. And each individual pot is not the locus of all specific absences of colour. And hence all specific absence of colour do not exist in the two pots taken jointly. An attribute not occurring in particulars cannot occur in the group of those particulars (*pratyekāvṛttidharmasya militāvṛttitvāt*, Vās. Fol. 36.2). Hence the question why the two pots taken jointly should not have generic absence of colour, does not arise.

Vāsudeva's admission of a distinct generic absence is based on the well-known criterion of logical simplicity (*lāghava*). Vāsudeva argues that specific absences of colour are empirical facts (*Klpta*) and hence by assuming a generic absence distinguished from such specific absences one runs the risk of logical complexity; but on the other hand specific absences are innumerable in number and to assume that all counterpositives of specific absences of colour are limited by one class-character 'colourness', would involve more complications (*gaurava*). On the other hand, although the theory of a distinct generic absence is more involved, it is less complicated in the sense that in this view we shall have to assume only one absence of which the counterpositive is limited by the class-character 'colourness'. Thus Vāsudeva appeals to the criterion of simplicity in proving generic absence as distinct from the combination of specific absences.

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BUDHI CHANDERI INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF RAṆAPĀLADEVA : V. S. 1100

By

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AND

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The stone slab bearing the present inscription was found by Shri Shridhara, Conservation Assistant of the Central Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1971 from among the ruins of an ancient Śaiva temple at Budhi Chanderi, district Guna, Madhya Pradesh. It is now deposited in the sculpture shed of Chanderi proper. The slab measures 93 cms. in breadth and 45 cms. in height. The inscription has suffered a great deal by exposure to weather and the record is badly damaged in the upper left portion. The inscription is edited with the kind permission of the superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Central Circle, Bhopal.

The inscription consists of 16 lines of writing. It is well written and neatly engraved. The *characters* are *Nāgarī* of the eleventh century A.D. and appear to be somewhat more developed than those of the Thubaun stone inscription of Harirājadeva, V. S. 1055.[1] The medial sign of *e* is made sometimes by a *pṛṣṭhamātrā* (cf. °*nvaye* in line 2) and sometimes by a *śiromātra* (cf. °*mauleḥ* in line 14). The record employs the initial vowels *a* in line 8, *ā* in line 14, *i* in line 5, *u* in line 12, *e* in lines 1 and 9 and *ai* in line 6. Final forms of the consonants *t*, *n* and *m* are seen in lines, 5, 15 and 10 respectively. The first letter of the word *manmatha* in first line is engraved above that line. Similarly, the sign of *anusvāra* in line 1 has been denoted by a diamond like ornamented symbol at three places. The letter *b* has been indicated by the sign of *v* as in line 1. *s* has been commonly used for *ś*.

The *language* is Sanskrit and except the *saṁvat* and the name of the ruling king at the end, the whole record is metrically composed throughout. There are in all 20 verses which are not numbered. The *praśasti* was composed by the poet Daśaratha in (*Vikrama*) *saṁvat* 1100 (A.D. 1042-43) during the auspicious reign of Raṇapāladeva. The name of the engraver is not mentioned in the record.

The subject matter of the record is not fully understandable. The main object of the inscription however appears to record the establishment of a her-

1 Edited by the writers for the Epigraphia Indica.

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mitage or *āśrama* by the sage Prabodhaśiva, who was a disciple of the successor (Name lost) of the Śaiva ascetic Dharmaśambhu.

The inscription opens with the praise of the enemy of cupid (*manmatha*). Verse 2 states that in the *anvaya* of the Śaivas, there was a muni, Dharmaśambhu by name, who was like an incarnation of *Dharma* on earth. His power and influence are described in verses 3 and 4. The successor of Dharmaśambhu was possibly mentioned in verse 5, while in verse 6, we are told that the disciple of the successor of Dharmaśambhu was the great ascetic Prabodhaśiva. From the description in that verse it appears that he was also known by the name of Sampannakāma. Qualities of Prabodhaśiva are described in verses 7-9. In verse 10 we are told that he established an *āśrama* at the place belonging to Gaṅgā (Girijā-sapatnī). Disciple of Prabodhaśiva was Vīṇāmuni who is described in verses 11 to 18. The composer of the *praśasti*, Daśaratha, is mentioned in verse 19. In verse 20, the names of the famous poets like Vālmīki, Bhāsa and Kapila are mentioned. While Vālmīki and Bhāsa are well-known for their Rāmāyaṇa and dramas, no literary work of Kapila is known, except his work on the *Sānkhya* system of Indian Philosophy.

The inscription under study is the third known dated record of the family of the Pratīhāras of Bundelkhand, other two being Bharat Kala Bhavana plate[2] and Thubaun stone inscription[3] of Harirājadeva. It is the first dated inscription of Raṇapāladeva who was the grandson of Harirājadeva and son of king Bhīmadeva mentioned in Kadwaha[4] and Chanderi inscriptions.[5] King Raṇapāla is already known from three other inscriptions, one from Kadwaha[6] and two from Chanderi.[7] According to the Thubaun inscription referred to above, his grandfather Harirājadeva was ruling in 1055 V.S. (A.D. 998-99) while the present inscription informs that he was on royal throne in V.S. 1100 (A.D. 1042-43) and that the area of Budhi Chanderi was included in his kingdom. The inscription however does not mention the name of the place but calls it as the place of Gaṅgā or Girijāsapatnī. The river Orr (ancient Urvaśī) flows close by the site of Budhi Chanderi. Urvaśī is not known as co-wife of Girijā or Pārvatī. But if we take the meaning of the term Girijāsapatnī as rival of Gaṅgā, then the place can be easily identified with the site of old Chanderi.

The inscription belongs to the line of the Śaiva ascetics of Mattamayūra already known from many inscriptions discovered from Kadwaha and other

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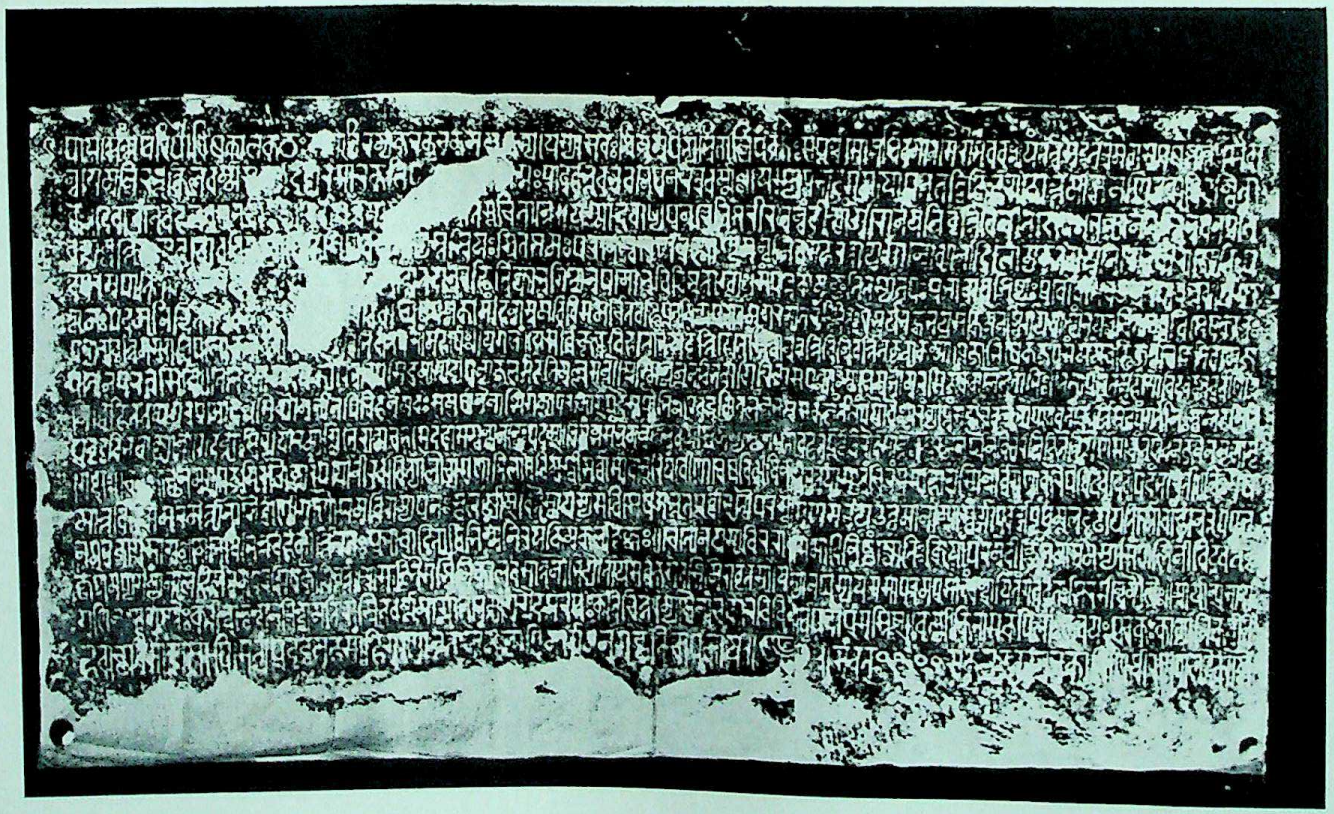
2 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXI, pp. 309-313.
3 Edited by the writers for Ep. Ind.
4 Gwalior Rajya Ke Abhilekha, No. 629.
5 *Ibid.*, Nos. 632 and 633.
6 *Ibid.*, No. 630.
7 *Ibid.*, Nos. 632 and 633.



Budhi Chanderi Inscription of Raṇapāladeva
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places in Madhya Pradesh. Ascetic Dharmaśambhu of the present inscription may be identified with the sage Dharmaśiva of verse 14 of the Kadwaha fragmentary stone inscription whose *āśrama* was visited by the King Gobhaṭa, an ancestor of Pratīhāra Harirāja who himself came to see the successor of Dharmaśiva. Unfortunately, the name of the successor of Dharmaśiva or Dharmaśambhu is lost in both the Kadwaha inscription and the record under study as well. Prabodhaśiva, the third sage was possibly a contemporary of Bhīmadeva, the son and successor of Harirājadeva. He was perhaps living in or about 1025 A.D. Name of Prabodhaśiva also occurs in Chandreh and Gurgi inscriptions but he cannot be identified with his name-sake in the present record wherein after Prabodhaśiva, Vīṇāmuni is mentioned as his disciple and in whose praise the present *prśasti* was composed in V. S. 1100 (A.D. 1042-43).

Text [8]

(Verses : 1-10, 13-20 *Vasantatilakā*; 12 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*).

१. सिद्धम्[9] [॥*] पायात्स [10]मन्मथरिपोर्विषकालकंठः [साम्बा (म्बा)]भिरम्यकरकंचनम[ण्डन]स्य । यस्यांस(श)वः श्रियमुपेत्य सि(श्रि)तालिपंक्तेः सम्पूर्णसोमश्रितमान सिरो शिवं वः ॥ [१ ॥*] यं तत्वसु(शु)द्धतनुमेत्य स एष शान्तः शैवा–

२. न्वयं मुनिरभूत्किल धर्म्मी [सं(शं)भु] र्दुर्वारभारकृतिप ⌣ ⌣ – ⌣ – ग्नः प्रादुर्ब्ब(र्ब)भूव भुवने पुनरत्र धर्म्मीः ॥ [२ ॥*] यस्य प्रभावसमयोपनतद्विजिह्वराजोत्तमाङ्गमणिरन्मु (रंशु) विडम्बि(म्बि)ता –

३. र्कः । देवार्चनै व(ब)हल[धूग स] – ⌣ – – दीपश्च मा ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ – – तिसृचितान्ते ॥ [३ ॥*] यस्मादवाप्य पुनरेति शरीरव(ब)न्धं दीक्षां गुरोर्नयति वृत्तिविनीतदोषः भक्त्या नतस्त्रिभुवने प्रति –

४. वन्द्यमूर्त्तः – – ⌣ बोध ⌣ ⌣ – ⌣ ⌣ शिष्यवर्यः [॥ ४ ॥*] न्यस्तस्त्रि(श्रि)यः स्त्रि(श्रि)तस(श)मः परमेश्वरेण । व्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डमन्धमिव संहरता युगान्तो ध्यानाद्विलोक्य कृतवायुनिरोध – रा – ज्योतिः प –

५. दं परमुपार्जित – ⌣ – – [॥ ५ ॥*] – – ⌣ – ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ – ⌣ ⌣ – ⌣ वह्निर्भिक्षाभुगित्यनुपमो भुवि विष्णु(श्णु)ताख्यः । संपन्नकाम इति तस्य तपःप्रभावात् शिष्यः प्रवो(बो)धशिव उग्रतपो व(ब)भूव ॥ [६ ॥*] यस्या –

६. त्मनः पदमनिन्दित – ⌣ – – – – ⌣ – ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ – ध्युपपन्नकामं । हन्तास्र(श्र)मं विधिसमर्चितवह्निपूतमिच्छाप्रचारभृगरम्यतरं निनिन्द ॥ [७ ॥*] ऐस्र(श्व)र्यभङ्गभय सं(शं)किमनश्चिराय वास्यं नयन्न वि ⌣ – ⌣ विसे(शे)षकान्तः

8 From ink-impression and original stone.

9 Expressed by symbol.

10 Letter *ma* is engraved above the line.

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७. पुण्यप्रवृत्तिमसुराधिपलोक[लक्ष्मी] – – ⌣ – ⌣ विभिदां तपसां महर्षेः ॥ [८ ॥*] युगलं ॥ यस्तीर्थकृच्च विहतोभयवृत्तिहेतोस्तत्वानुवृत्तिविनिवर्त्तितकृत्य कर्म्मा । पूजाभिषेक-जपसंयमवह्निकर्म्म चक्रे शिवाय ज –

८. गतो न परत्रसिद्ध्यै ॥ [९ ॥*] तेनेदमा[श्रम]मकारि भुवि प्रसिद्धमासाद्य पुन्य(ण्य)-जलसंहृतिमुल्लसन्तीं । अस्मिन्ननूनविभवां गिरिजासपत्न्याः स्थाने सु(शु)भाभुरसिजां कमलैर्लताभिः ॥ [१० ॥*] तस्य प्रभूतमहसो विदवद्ध(ब)भूव वीणासु –

९. निर्व्विहिततथ्यगुरुप्रमोदः । सि(शि)ष्यो मुनीनपि विह – ⌣ मधःसमर्थानैना सिगन्य(ण्य) परमोग्रपदैस्तपोभिः ॥ [११ ॥*] एतद् भूमितलं नभस्च(श्च) सकलं तीरं पयोधेः परं व्याप्तं सद्म च वल्ल – ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ – कीर्त्तिस्तदेयं गता निःस्थानाहमिति

१०. प्रवृद्धविभवा – – ⌣ – – ⌣ – यो रस्यस्थितिरात्मचेतसि ददौ सत्वन्मुनीद्रः पदम् ॥ [१२ ॥*] वि[स्र]म्भसंभ्रमभुवमास्र(श्र)मस्य स्थानप्रभावहतपूर्व्वविरोधसा(शा)न्ताः । यस्यानघेन विचरन्ति जितेन्द्रियेण साकं तपोधनजनेन मृगा मृ –

११. गेन्द्राः ॥ [१३ ॥*] चन्द्रे लांच्छनमुग्रतेजसि रवौ क्षारं पयो नीरधाविल्यालोच्य गुणाभि-लाषविमुखी सर्व्वास्पदा भूरियं । वीणावेषविधायिनी विभुतया स्थातुं चिरं सस्पृहा यस्मि-न्सर्व्वगुणाकरे प्रविदधे देवीपदं भारती ॥ [१४ ॥*] निः से(शे)ष–

१२. मात्वविभवामरमर्त्य – – र्व्वाणीगुणौघमधिगम्य पुनः स्वलक्ष्मीम् । धत्तेस्म यस्य सविसे-(शे)षमभूतपूर्व्वा भूयै परस्य गुणसंचय उत्तमानां(ना)म् ॥ [१५ ॥*] स्वर्गापवर्ग्ग-पृथुमूलदृढायतिर्यो वांच्छानुरूपफल—

१३. नम्रभुजाग्रसा(शा)खः । मेने विभिन्नव(ब)हुकीर्त्ति ⌣ – प्रभावादित्यर्थिभिर्म्मुनिरयं किमु कल्पवृक्षः ॥ [१६ ॥*] चेतो न यस्य विरराम समाधिनिष्ठं ज्योतिःक्रियां परमदीक्षित [मात्र] मस्य । संपालिनी विदवतः

१४. क्षणमप्यगम्यं नालं हि लब्ध(ब्ध)मपवर्गिंगषु कोपि वृत्तं (त्तम्) ॥ [१७ ॥*] आसादिते शशिनि कालवसा(शा)त्तमोभिर्द्योताय सर्व्वजगतस्तिमिराावृतस्य । यस्यानघस्य यस(श)सा परमप्रसादं चन्द्रायितं गतवतः शिरसीन्द्रमौलेः ॥ [१८ ॥*] आर्यान्प्रसाद्य–

१५. गुणिनः स्वगुणैः कवीन्द्रान्वन्द्यानन्द्यमतिराश्रितधर्म्ममार्गान् । भक्त्या गुरौ दस(श)-रथः कविचित्तरम्यामेनां चकार विविधार्थपदां प्रस(श)स्तिम् ॥ [१९ ॥*] व(ब)ल्मी-किभासकपिलाः कवयः प्रचक्रुः काव्यानि कर्तुमि –

१६. ह वांछति साधु सोपि । सत्यं प्रवृद्धमहसां हि गुणोन्नतानां मन्दोपि मार्गमनुगच्छति चापलाय ॥ [२० ॥*] symbol ॥ संवत् ११०० सकल [जगशुभ] कारिणि श्रीरणपालदेवराज्ये

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Sharma, Virendra : Is the Eternal Verbum of Bhatṛhari a Dynamic Principle ?

Siddhanta, Shastree : Horse Sacrifices in the Kali Age

Srivastava, Narsingh : The Ideas of the Bhagavadgītā in Four Quartets of T. S. Eliot

Unni, N. P. : The Trivandrum Plays and the Abhijñānaśākutala-carcā

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Vedkumari : Kṣemendra's View about Education

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Adarsh Bala : A Re-interpretation of Paradise Lost in the Light of Mahābhārata and Gītā

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REVIEWS

Rāmopākhyāna kiṃvā Ādi Rāmacarita : translated by K. K. SHASTRI, Published by Viśva Hindu Pariṣad, Ahmedabad—22, 1975, PP. 22 + 51. Price Rs. 2/-.

Shri K. K. Shastri in his introduction to the Gujarātī translation of '*Rāmopākhyāna kiṃvā Ādi Rāmacarita*' states three different views as regards the original source of Rāma legend on p. 5. Briefly put the *Rāmopākhyāna* may either be (1) an abridgement of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki or (2) it may be the original source of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* or (3) both of them might have drawn upon some original common source. Examining this question Shri Shastri further states on p. 21 that the author of *Rāmopākhyāna* is absolutely unaware of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*. Moreover as he continues on p. 22 it is difficult to say that our *Ādikavi* had easy excess to the subject-matter of the *Rāmopākhyāna*. The reason for this as he says is that there is marked difference in numerous incidents. So he concludes that the structure of both the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Rāmopākhyāna* being more older is based on more traditions than one. A great poet is usually taking many liberties following the tradition of the poets.

The view of Shri Shastri differs from the three views mentioned earlier in so far as he postulates more than one tradition as the basis of both the Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Rāmopākhyāna*. This is the fourth view. The first view is held by Jacobi, Winternitz and Dr. V. S. Sukthankar. The second view is held by Dr. P. L. Vaidya. The third view is one of the four logical alternatives formulated by Weber. The above two views also formed the other two alternatives. The fourth alternative of Weber was a modification of the first view. Before examining the last two views let us examine these first two views because if any one of the first two views is found correct on examination there remains no scope for holding the last two views.

Dr. Vaidya in his introduction to the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* Critical Edition enumerates about ten points of deviation in the subject-matter of *Rāmopākhyāna* from that of the Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. As the former forms a part of *Itihāsa* it supplies a matter of fact narration of the events which took place in Rāma's life and as *Rāmāyaṇa* is an '*Ādikāvya*', the poet Vālmīki has taken liberty with the narration and has given a colouring of wonder by introducing the supernatural elements in it. Thus it comes in sharp contrast with the matter of fact account found in the *Rāmopākhyāna* according to Dr. Vaidya.

Dr. Raghavan has however pointed out many more points of difference between the two accounts in his book '*The Greater Rāmāyaṇa*'.

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On page 17 of the introduction to the book under review Shri Shastri has recorded 31 incidents in the account as found in Canto 3 of *Bālakāṇḍa* Crit. Ed. which are absent in the *Rāmopākhyāna*. Out of these 31 incidents about 28 are not very significant and hence they might have been naturally dropped in a brief account. Only three significant incidents appearing in the third canto of *Bālakāṇḍa* Crit. Ed. are dropped in *Rāmopākhyāna* viz. (no. 2) assistance to Viśvāmitra, (no. 3) the marriage of Jānakī and breaking the bow and (no. 93) abandonment of Vaidehī. Out of these three the marriage of Sītā with Rāma (after fulfilling the condition of stringing the bow) is a must in both the accounts (why—in all the true accounts of Rāma's life) and hence the author of *Rāmopākhyāna* might have taken it for granted as without that the future events would not tally. The further narration of the abandonment of Vaidehī was not in any way necessary in the context of consoling Yudhiṣṭhira who was in distress after the abduction of Draupadī by Jayadratha even though Bhīma had recovered her from him before Rāma's story was narrated to Yudhiṣṭhira by sage Mārkaṇḍeya. It was no doubt a great humiliation to a high souled person like Yudhiṣṭhira whom sage Mārkaṇḍeya tried to console by relating a parallel example of Rāma. If the sage were to narrate the abandonment of Sītā again then that would serve to make Yudhiṣṭhira more unhappy only keeping in view the great injustice done to Sītā and the sense of pathos caused by the tragedy. Now remains the third incident viz. assistance to Viśvāmitra. Though this incident is not found in *Rāmopākhyāna* still it occurs in *Sabhāparvan* in connection with the honouring of Kṛṣṇa (*Arghāharaṇa-parvan* Crit. App. 21) which has, at the end, the set verses on Rāma's personality and *Rāmarājya*. There Rāma is said to have manifested himself with Viśvāmitra as his guide, '*Viśvāmitrapurassaraḥ*', which is indeed most significant considering the role that Viśvāmitra played in the formative part of Rāma's life, in the laying of the foundation, so to say, for the further developments (Vide—'*The Greater Rāmāyaṇa*' p. 5). The reading '*Viśvāmitrapurassaraḥ*' is supported by *Harivaṁśa* and its Crit. Ed. also.

A careful survey of the peculiarities in the account (of Rāma Saga) as found in *Rāmopākhyāna* reveals that the differences from the account found in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* are with regard to some minor details which are not very significant or vital to the main structure of the account.

Now let us have a look at the opinions and views of eminent Sanskrit scholars. Jacobi says in his '*Das Rāmāyaṇa*', " My view about the influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the *Mahābhārata* to be more brief, is based on the following points : 1. In the present shape the *Rāmāyaṇa* is older than the *Mahābhārata*. 2. If not the first, it (the *Rāmāyaṇa*) was the predecessor of all homogeneous and artificial poems, which surpassed all of its kind. 3. The technique of poetry with regard to delineation, language and metre, which was brought to comple-

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tion by Vālmīki became the standard for the epic poetry of later times. 4. The epic songs, which had the legends of the *Mahābhārata* as their themes, were remodelled by the conditions of higher *Kāvya* style introduced by Vālmīki."

Dr. Raghavan in his book "*The Greater Rāmāyaṇa*" pp. 4-5 writes : "On one hand, the growth of the *Bhārata* into the *Mahābhārata* might have attracted into the great Epic, the Rāma-story, like other ancient stories; on the other, of all ancient stories, that of Rāma was more strongly implanted on the people's memory and it must have come naturally to the mind of the author or authors of the Great Epic; and further the fine form which the epic poetry took in Vālmīki's hand could not but have its attraction to the later composers. In all these ways the Rāma-saga and Vālmīki's poem have influenced and permeated the *Mahābhārata*". He further continues : "Over three hundred phrases, set epithets and tags common to the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* have, as already mentioned been collected by Hopkins (*Great Epic of India* App. A. pp. 403-45). As he himself says, these are a random collection and actually many more could be collected." On p. 12 of the same work mentioned above Dr. Raghavan says : "Also, the summary treatment of the story in the *Rāmopākhyāna* presupposes a knowledge of Vālmīki's original. The summary is not even ; while some important events are just touched or even skipped, making the narrative too tabloid or jerky, less important incidents are somewhat dilated upon. The summary treatment necessitates sometimes telescoping of incidents and reduction of the number of occurrences of an incident which happens more than once to a single occasion, the most notable of this last being Indrajit's appearances on the battlefield, reduced from three to one. Sometimes a thing is transferred from one character to another e.g., the limbs of Rāvaṇa severed by Rāma growing again, transferred to Kumbhakarṇa in his encounter with Lakṣmaṇa. Rāma not killing Kumbhakarṇa straightway but gradually cutting off his limbs one after the other, is however a process which Rāma usually adopts ; in Vālmīki, Rāma adopts this for Tāṭakā and Kumbhakarṇa. In the narration, of the events, the *Rāmopākhyāna* follows its own scheme, sometimes relating earlier a later event and vice versa."

Dr. Raghavan further continues : "Do these differences call for a version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* different from the well-known one ? Or could all these differences be explained by the exigencies of the abridgement, its character as a free imitation and it being an account based on a memorized text and not a ms., and allowing for the play of fancy too? Jacobi would subscribe to the latter explanation."

Dr. Raghavan quotes the findings of Dr. Sukthankar in the following words : "Sukthankar studied the *Rāmopākhyāna* in further detail in connection with his editorial work on the *Vanaparvan*. In his study on this Sukthankar tabulated 86 passages of the *Rāmopākhyāna* with their clear verbal parallels in

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Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, in its different recensions, which go to strengthen Jacobi's view." For other arguments of Dr. Sukthankar vide pp. 388, 390, 401 and 402 of *Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata* edited by P. K. Gode.

Thus there is no unanimity of opinion among weighty authorities as regards the indebtedness of *Rāmāyaṇa* to *Rāmopākhyāna* or otherwise or the indebtedness of both of them to any third source or sources. Shri Shastri has carefully gleaned the incidents found in the account of Rāma Saga in *Rāmāyaṇa* but not found in *Rāmopākhyāna*. But it appears that the opinions of Jacobi, Winternitz, Dr. Sukthankar and Dr. Raghavan should have been given due consideration before discarding them.

B. N. BHATT

Glimpses of Health and Medicine in Mauryan Empire : (*with bibliography and index*), by Dr. D. V. SUBBA REDDY, Pub. by : Upgraded Department of History of Medicine, Osmania Medical College, Hyderabad, pp. 97, 1966, Price : Not Printed

This is a monograph on the History of Medicine in ancient India particularly relating to the *Mauryan* period written by Dr. D. V. Subba Reddy, who is the founder Secretary of the Indian Association of History of Medicine. The contents of this monograph are divided into two parts—(i) Glimpses from *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and (ii) Gleanings from Ancient Historical writings and edicts.

Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya is an authoritative record of the history of the people and life of that age. The first part is based on this work and the learned author has dealt with the subject under headings :

(i) Physicians, their responsibilities and privileges, hospitals, herbariums, pharmacy, drugs and their classifications and concessions to the sick. In this chapter he also deals with the rules relating to the customs duty or toll on medicinal preparations, references to diseases and also medicines,

(ii) the regimen for Royalty and Royal Household,

(iii) the Health and Welfare of the common people;

(iv) Town Planning and precautions against fire, etc.;

(v) General Sanitation and enforcement of Public Health Act;

(vi) National calamities (especially fires, flood, famine, rats, epidemics, etc.);

(vii) Food, Drink and Rations including punishments for adulteration and Regulations relating to liquor use;

(viii) Forensic Medicine, including Diseases and inheritance, Testamentary capacity, Testimony of Physicians, Rules relating to assaults, abortions, infanticide, sudden deaths and Juridicial surgery;

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(ix) Medicolegal aspects of marriage and sexual offences in an exhaustive manner,

(x) Poisoning from different angles including detection methods;

(xi) Detailed descriptions of Health and Medical Aid in Military Camps;

(xii) Chemical Warfare;

(xiii) Remedies for injuries caused by enemy to the King and Army;

(xiv) Novel prescriptions for fasting for a month, to change colour of skin and hair, etc.; and finally on

(xv) The Veterinary Medicine.

The author has taken enormous pains to collect many interesting facts on all these aspects as dealt with in *Arthaśāstra* in a proper classified manner.

For the material in part II, the author had depended upon the valuable accounts left behind by the Greek and foreign travellers during the pre-Mauryan and the period of Chandragupta Maurya, the edicts of Aśoka and also the literary writings of the period.

Knowing the difficulties in collecting information on the history of medicine in Ancient India, which are often meagre and scattered, the author deserves congratulations for this laborious task well done. This monograph helps us to take a peep into the past with pride, when nearly Two Thousand years back a civilization with clear concepts of health and sanitary needs was in existence in this country, with proper Government regulatory machinery to supervise and implement the same.

V. SRINIVASAN

Regional Seminar-Cum-Workshop on History of Medicine in India (Held on October 9, 10 & 11, 1970); Report By DR. V. RAMACHANDRA RAO, Pub. by the Registrar, Srī Venkateshvara University, Tirupati, pp. 134, Price : Not printed.

The printed report in the form of a booklet relating to the *Regional Seminar-Cum-Workshop on History of Medicine* in India, held on 9th to 11th October, 1970, at S. V. Medical College, Tirupati, reported by Dr. V. Ramachandra Rao, Principal, S. V. Medical College, Tirupati, with Dr. D. V. Subba Reddy, Hony. Director, Institute of History of Medicine, Osmania Medical College, Hyderabad-1, as the adviser of the project is a valuable contribution on the subject of the History of Medicine in India. As the Chief guest Dr. D. Jaganatha Reddy, Vice-Chancellor. S. V. University, Tirupati, had mentioned in his inaugural address, this Seminar-Cum-Workshop was the first one of the kind and has become possible because of the untiring efforts of Dr. D. V. Subba Reddy, the founder Secretary of the Indian Association of History of Medicine and the active members of the Association. Dr. Jaganatha Reddy himself in his

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inaugural address had summed up briefly, the various aspects of the Indian medicine right from the Aryan period to 11th century A.D. The Seminar-Cum-Workshop which was divided into 5 separate sessions and covered various topics like :

1. Alchemy in Relation to Medicine in India.
2. Influence of Indian Medical Science (Ayurvedic) on the Arabs in Abbaside Period.
3. Allusions to Medicine in Vedic and Other Ancient Sanskrit Literature.
4. Unani Medical Literature of India.
5. Teaching of History of Medicine in Medical Curriculam-Aims, Duration of the course, etc., and Training of Teachers.
6. Some medical references in the Works of Palkuriki Somanatha.
7. Need for the Study of the Ancient Indian Sciences and the Scientific Basis of *Āyurveda* and *Yoga*.
8. Methods and Techniques of Teaching History of Medicine to Undergraduates.
9. Raja Sarfoji's Contributions to Medical Sciences.
10. Primitive Medicine.
11. Medical Lore in Medieval Sanskrit Commentaries of South India.
12. Sanskrit Manuscripts as Source Materials for History of *Āyurveda*.
13. Medical Treatises Printed or in Manuscript in Telugu, their Names, Authorship, Dates of Composition and their Significance to History of Medicine.
14. Ancient Medical Treatises on *Siddha* System of Medicine and their significance to History of Medicine.
15. Treatises in Kannada Dealing with Medicine and Allied Subjects.

and 16. History of Indian Medicine—Some Archaeological or Epigraphical Sources.

The various papers presented by different authors have also been printed in the book along with the discussions. The Seminar also finally recommended certain actions to be taken by the various Medical Institutions for the maintenance of the records for the posterity. In the various appendices attached to the publications, we have the list of authors of medical Treatises in Tamil under Tanjore Raja Sarfoji (1798-1832 A.D.); Modi Raja records; a list of important books dealing with medicine and allied sciences right from 775 A.D. upto 1900 A.D. The workshop also had organized an exhibition, exhibiting various manuscripts and books relating to ancient medical sciences in India. On the whole, it is a very commendable Seminar-Cum-Workshop on this subject. The

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report is quite comprehensive and it can be of great value to research workers in the field of Ayurvedic, Unani and *Siddha* system of medicine.

V. SRINIVASAN

Western Epitomes of Indian Medicine : Collected and Edited by DR. D. V. SUBBA REDDY, Pub. by : Upgraded Dept. of History of Medicine, Osmania Medical College, Hyderabad; pp. 116; 1966, Price : Not printed.

This monograph consists of a collection of twelve articles published by Western authors (mostly medical men) on Ancient Indian Medicine from 1811 to 1917 A.D. As the author himself states, these articles do not completely cover all the articles published by western authors on this subject and are only the articles which were available to him in English or as translated into English from continental works

It is understandable that with the arrival of the Portugese in the 16th century, followed by the Dutch in 17th, French and English in the 18th centuries on our soil, along with the trade and political involvements, exchange of information on social and cultural aspects also would have taken place. The various articles include a variety of views on Indian medicine as practised in India in those days as understood by them. Of course very often they appear to have more misunderstood the Indian concepts, than understood them.

The first article " Medical Legends of Ancient Nations " from " Disquisitions in the History of Medicine " by Richard Miller, M.D., 1811, contains very little detail relating to the practice of ancient Indian Medicine. The article only tries to reveal the similarities of the *Nāgarī* Script and the approaches to *Devī* worship, etc. of the Hindus with Ethiopean and Egyptian concepts and occasional references to the existence of an organised system of medicine practised by the Hindus.

The second article " The Healing Art of Hindustan " by William Hamilton M. B. in 1831, does not appear to be in anyway complimentary to the practice of medicine in ancient India. He does not appear to have had any direct contact with Indian medical practice, but appears to quote from Strabo who visited India in 1st century B.C. He considers the knowledge of healing art was poor and was controlled by injudicious laws. Unless every drug administered has an antidote for its side effects, the man who administered it, will be punished by death. The people who practised the healing art in India were called Samareans and they administered the drugs under the supervision of magistrates. I do not think any ancient Indian history man can identify these facts from our literature. There is no reference to the works of Suśruta or Dhanvantari.

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The third article by C. G. Comergys, M.D., "Medicine of the Oriental Indians" 1856, is based on his critical analysis of extracts from *Vagadasastra*. He considers the knowledge contained in it as very poor and reflected the human body. He criticised strongly the belief that mental illnesses were due to devils, skin diseases were due to worms, internal disorders to tumors, etc. He considered that many of the ideas relating to medical knowledge in India in ancient times are silly, incredible and ridiculous. Of course he appears to have obtained many of his information from quacks, rather than experienced medical men of that time. The same type of criticism of the ancient Indian medicine was indicated in the other articles also. Most of the authors however have given a fairly good account of surgical excellence among the Hindu healing art.

In short all these authors have expressed the general opinion, that the ancient medical arts of Hindus were associated with many superstitions and wrong anatomical, physiological and pathological concepts. Since the Hindu medical system was said to have originated from Aświnikumāras, the twin sons of the Sun, it had a divine origin and any further modifications or further research on it will amount to a sacrilege. This concept had prevented the further growth of the Hindu Medical Sciences and it failed to take advantage of later developments in the fields of Anatomy, Physiology, Pathology, Bacteriology, etc.

This same attitude appears to persist even today and I feel in this context the compilation of these articles by Dr. Reddy, will be of interest for the people interested in Ayurvedic research, to weed out of the system, concepts which do not fit in with modern knowledge of Human Anatomy, Physiology, etc., and allow that system to grow on more Scientific lines in keeping with the modern concepts regarding diseases.

V. SRINIVASAN

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OBITUARY

Dr. Hermann Goetz

With the passing away of Dr. Hermann Goetz on 7th July, 1976, Indian Scholarship has lost one of its devoted savants. Dr. Goetz was born in Karlshruhe in (1899), and educated in Germany and Holland. He worked mostly in Berlin, Lyden, Baroda, Delhi and Heidelberg. His studies of Indian Art and Culture were based principally on the clear understanding of the socio-historical basis, and hence instead of analysing the works of Arts in isolation he tried to present them in their socio-cultural context in spatio-temporal atmosphere. This view-point carried Dr. Goetz into the realms of Art History, Museum Organisation, Archaeology and other allied subjects.

His devoted work in the museum organisation at Baroda, led him to the setting of different galleries with a view to education and effective presentation in the choice of backgrounds and proper view-point of the exhibits. He took care to bring in the elements contemporary to the exhibits so that they would show up in their proper context as far as possible. This work required much study, research. His excellent organisation of Fatehsimha Rao Museum in the Palace compound at Baroda is a fine epitome of his work.

For his research activities he not only examined the materials in the museums but extensively travelled and carried out field studies, which give the scholarly touch of an experienced, observant specialist. These activities were responsible for the discovery and collection of many remarkable antiquities housed in the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery. Besides his own work he encouraged the younger scholars by actively associating them in research as well as by joining in the field activities with them and removing many difficulties from their way. This also led to many discoveries of primary importance in and around Baroda, and other areas where he happened to live.

He wanted to spread knowledge of Indian Arts and convey their genuine appreciation. For this purpose he lectured, wrote, edited and guided students. His German accent was often not followed by his listeners but his visual aids amply filled the lacuna. Once somebody understood his accent it was a pleasure to listen to his erudition. His writings were clear, logical and informative with a touch of necessary controlled imagination. Writing with both hands, Dr. Goetz used to check, recheck and tried to perfect his expression, that bubbled with deep thinking and enthusiastic appreciation of Indian patrons, artists and the contributors to Indian culture in its broad canvas. He published his papers in many journals and languages, and wrote a number of books, in which he presented his ideas. He edited many works and the Bulletin of Baroda Museum

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& Picture Gallery in which he encouraged many writers. This publication earned the recognition for the Museum and ably demonstrated the catholic scholarship of Dr. Goetz. All these activities have been spread over more than 450 titles which reveal that " India has, in the course of centuries, undergone as many and as incisive social and cultural changes as any other subcontinent, well known to us and yet disregarded in favour of a traditional uniform picture without depth. "

In spite of his failing health he was active till his last day. His devotion to the subject of his choice and fellow feeling for his colleagues have left deep imprints on the sands of time.

May his soul rest in peace !

R. N. MEHTA

Pandita L. B. Gandhi

On 29th March, 1976 occurred the sad demise of Paṇḍita Lalchand Bhagavandas Gandhi, the well-known Jaina Paṇḍita who was one of the leading members of the staff of the Oriental Institute, Baroda for more than three decades (1920 A.D.–1952 A.D.).

Born on 23-8-1894, in the village Dāṭhā of Gohilvāḍ district, Sauraṣtra, Gujarat State, he obtained his primary education in his native place and then at an early age of 14, he went to Vārāṇasī where the late famous Jaina ācārya Śrī Vijaya-Dharma Sūri had started Śrī Yaśovijaya Jaina Sanskṛta Pāṭhaśālā. During eight years of his rigorous studies at Vārāṇasī he became proficient in Sanskrit and Prākrit languages, and studied Vyākaraṇa, Nyāya, Kāvya etc. Returning, he worked for five years at various places in Gujarat, accepting temporary jobs of teaching, editing etc. entrusted to him. Then for sometime he worked as a Paṇḍita assistant of the Italian scholar Dr. Tessitori, at Bikaner. Dr. Tessitori gave him a very good certificate which enabled him to secure a permanent post in Gujarat, in the Central Library, Sanskrit Department, Baroda State. In 1927, this department was transformed into the Oriental Institute of Baroda. Paṇḍita L. B. Gandhi assisted in the various research and publication activities of the Institute. He visited the famous Jaina Bhaṇḍāras of Jesalmere, Pātan etc. and his editions of the Catalogues of Palm-leaf manuscripts at Jesalmere and Pātan (both published in the Gos. as nos. 21 & 76 respy.) are well-known. Both these were based on the notes of the late Shri C. D. Dalal who died before editing them.

Paṇḍita L. B. Gandhi also edited such famous texts as the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, the *Apabhraṁśa-Kāvyatrayī*, *Alaṅkāra-Mahodadhi*, *Dvādaśāranayacakra* (Vol. I) in

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the G. O. Series, the *Dharmopadeśamālāvivaraṇa* in the Singhi Jaina Series, and elsewhere the texts *Śyādiśabdasamuccaya*, *Sambodha-Saptati*, *Arhadabhiśekavidhi*. He was also joint editor of some other texts like the *Yogaśāstra* etc. He translated into Gujarati, texts like the *Pañcamī-Māhātmya*, *Tribhuwandīpaka-prabandhi*. He published several articles and books in Gujarati. "*Aitihāsika-Lekhasaṁgraha*" is a collection of his several important articles, published by the Oriental Institute, Baroda. For students of Jaina Literature and the history of the Jaina Church, this is a very important work of reference.

Paṇḍita Gandhi's researches were recognised by the Government of India by awarding the Certificate of merit in 1972, and by Jaina Community by awarding him a gold medal entitled "Śrī Vijaya-Dharma Sūri Jaina Sāhitya Suvarṇa-Candraka".

May Paṇḍita Gandhi's Soul rest in Peace !

UMAKANT P. SHAH

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